AŚOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

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In memory of

My Revered Teacher,

The Late PROFESSOR HARINATH DE,

THE RENOWNED INDIAN LINGUIST,

Who first initiated me into the study of Indian Epigraphy and palæography in the year 1906

PREFACE

I am fully conscious of the fact that a voluminous literature has already grown on the Aśokan inscriptions by the contributions of eminent scholars, both oriental and occidental Teachers and students who study Aśoka and his Edicts know fully well as to how far Buhler, Senart, Cunningham, Hultzsch, Fleet, Thomas, Kern, Venis, Woolner, Turner, Jules Bloch, and many other scholars of the West, and D. R. Bhandarkar, B M. Barua, D. C. Sircar, R. K. Mookerjee, D R. Sahni and many other scholars of the East have contributed to this literature. The new monumental Volume I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* on the Inscriptions of Aśoka, edited by Hultzsch and published by the Government of India in 1925 is not easily accessible to students. Aśokan literature will ever remain a subject of study and re-study for a clearer understanding of full and appropriate meaning of many difficult words of these ancient Indian records.

I now state how I felt for a publication of this compendious edition of the Aśokan Inscriptions. My only intention in bringing out this edition is to help the Post-Graduate students, here in India and abroad, have a book which will contain all the versions of the texts of the edicts arranged properly and printed in Devanāgarī characters with their Sanskrit renderings and English translations and also some Anglo-Sanskrit notes on important and difficult words.

This edition has a pleasant personal history behind it. More than half-a-century ago when I was an M. A. student (in Group A) of the Calcutta University, reading (in 1906-07) in the Government College at Dacca (now in Eastern Pakistan), I had to take up Aśokan Inscription as my special paper in lieu of Nyāya philosophy. As there was no teaching arrangement for this subject at the Dacca College, I had occasionally to come down from Dacca to Calcutta to find out my way to learn that subject of epigraphy. The first lesson on Aśokan palæography was taught me at his Calcutta residence by my late revered teacher, Professor Harinath De, the greatest Bengali linguist of the times. Fortunately for me in Professor De's house I made my first acquaintance with that world-renowned Sanskritist-Palist scholar, Professor Dharmananda Kosambi of hallowed memory, who later served in the Harvard University, U. S. A. If truth be said Professor Kosambi was at that time (1906) innocent of Aśokan Inscriptions, but he being a Buddhist Śramaṇa at that time and so very proficient in Sanskrit and Pali began to take up this epigraphic study by reading the subject together with myself. It was from his mouth I heard for the first time a casual remark that some of the Aśokan dialects bore great affinity with Pali which could be detected by one studying the records carefully in a comparative mood. Professor Kosambi

helped me with his great knowledge of the Pāninian system of Sanskrit language in translating the Aśokan edicts into Sanskrit, as far as it could be feasible to do so at the time. That is the genesis of my attempt now to translate the Aśokan epigraphs in this edition both in Sanskrit and English.

The second phase of my re-study of Aśokan epigraphy commenced when the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee appointed me to work as a Calcutta University Lecturer in Epigraphy in 1918 under late Professor Dr D. R. Bhandarkar in the Post-Graduate Departments where I had to lecture on Aśokan edicts and other later epigraphic records In 1921-33 when I was a Lecturer in the Dacca University Mm. Dr. H. P Shastri, the Head of the Department of Sanskrit, directed me to lecture on the Aśokan and other Inscriptions, in the M. A. classes of that University.

The final stage of my study of the Aśokan documents came in 1956 (almost sixteen years after my retirement from Government service) when one of my most beloved and learned students Dr. S. N. Ghoshal, M. A., D. Phil., an earnest student of Indian linguistics, came at leisure-time to my house every now and then and read with me all the Aśokan Inscriptions. It is his insistent request which urged me to take up the work of preparing and publishing this edition. The main purpose of writing this handy book is to create an urge for an intensive study of these very ancient epigraphic records of India by graduate and post graduate students of the different Universities in India and abroad.

I owe an apology to my readers for my giving the Sanskrit renderings of the Edicts by ignoring the rules of Sanskrit euphony (*Sandhi*), but it was so done only with the purpose of showing the possible Sanskrit equivalents of the Aśokan expressions, word for word. I humbly claim to have differed from other scholars, in some places, in interpreting certain words and expressions of the edicts. The readers will be able to find them out from the perusal of the Word-notes in the book.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to a brilliant student of the Calcutta University, Śrī Bratindra Nath Mukhopadhyay, M.A., who kindly lent me some of his books and arranged through his friend, Śrī Buddhadev Bhattacharyya, with the proprietor of the Progressive Publishers, Śrī Sushil Kumar Basu for printing and publishing this book.

I shall deem my labour well-paid, if this book becomes useful to students and teachers of Indian epigraphy and also to those who take interest in the study of Indology. I am afraid certain typographical errors may have crept in in spite of our best endeavour to avoid them and for this I crave the indulgence of the readers to correct them.

Calcutta, January, 1959. RADHAGOVINDA BASAK.

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MINOR PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

As stated in the Preface of the book, a very vast literature on Aśoka and his inscriptions is available to scholars. So I shall not attempt to write in this compendium a detailed Introduction. For the benefit generally of the University students and other interested persons, I shall deal herein only with four important topics, namely, (1) Geographical Distribution of Aśokan Inscriptions, (2) Aśoka's Administration, (3) Aśoka's Dharma, and (4) Language of the Aśokan Dialects. In my discussion of the second and third topics I shall refrain from using traditional information and foreign travellers' accounts, but shall depend on the texts of the edicts only for collection of materials.

I Geographical Distribution of Aśokan Inscriptions

The great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 273 or 272-232 B.C.) ruled over a vast Indian dominion from the Maurya capital, Pāṭaliputra in Magadha (modern South Bihar). The distribution of the hitherto known inscriptions of his is the best guide for forming an idea of the extent of his empire. It may briefly be said that his empire lay within the limits of modern Afghanistan in the North-west to Orissa in the South-east, and again from the Himālayas in the north to Mysore in the south of India.

Generally, scholars classify Aśoka's inscriptions into the following categories.

I. The Fourteen Rock Edicts,
II. The Seven Pillar Edicts,
III. The Two Separate Rock Inscriptions of Kalinga,
IV. (a) The Minor Rock Inscriptions I and II.
(b) The Bhabru (formerly called Bhabra) Rock Edict,
V. The Minor Pillar Edicts and
VI. The Cave (dedicative) Inscriptions.

The above mentioned inscriptions are, however, distributed locally as stated below.

I (1) The Fourteen Rock Edicts were discovered at Girnar hill, incised on the north-eastern face of a rock, near rhe ancient town of Junagadh, in the Peninsula of Kathiawar (Saurāshṭra) now in the Bombay State;

(2) at Kalsi on a rock in Dehra-Dun district of Uttar Pradesh;

(3) at Dhauli on a rock about some six or seven miles in the South of Bhuvaneswar in the Puri district of Orissa;

(4) at Jaugada on a rock (in ancient Khepingala-parvata) in Ganjam district of Orissa;

(5) at Shahbazgarhi on a rock in Yusufzai sub-division of Peshawar district, West Pakistan;

(6) at Mansehra on a rock in Hazara district, West Pakistan;

(7) at Sopara on a rock (in the ancient town of Sūrpāraka) in Thana district, Bombay State;

(8) at Erragudi on a rock in Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh.

II. The Seven Pillar Edicts were discovered at—

(1) Topra (called Delhi-Topra or Delhi-Sivalik as it was transported in the 14th century A.D. by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak from Topra to Delhi) in Ambala district in East Punjab;

(2) at Meerut (called Delhi-Meerut as this was also transported by the same Tughlak monarch to Delhi) in Uttar Pradesh,

(3) at Allahabad (now in Allahabad Fort, removed there from Kauśambi, modern Kosam, by an unknown person, who must have been a high-ranked one) in Uttar Pradesh;

(4) at Radhia (=Lauriya-Ararāja) on way to Bettia in Champaran district in North Bihar;

(5) Madhia (=Lauriya-Nandangarh) on the road from Bettia to Nepal, in Champaran District in North Bihar;

(6) at Rampurwa, in Champaran district in North Bihar.

It may be remarked here that only the Topra pillar contains all the Seven Pillar Edicts, the six others containing only Pillar Edicts I-VI.

III. The two Separate Rock Inscriptions of Kalinga discovered at Dhauli (in Puri district) and Jaugada (in Ganjam district) take the place of Rock Edicts XI, XII, and XIII of the other versions, and they appear to be special records meant for the people of Kalinga, conquered by Aśoka.

IV. (a) The Minor Rock Fdicts I and II were discovered in the following places as stated below.

Minor Rock Edict I may be said to have two local versions, Northern and Southern in variant recensions. (1) The Northern versions occur at—

(1) Sahasram, in Shahabad district in South Bihar;

(2) Rupnath, Jabalpur district, Madhya Pradesh;

(3) Bairat, in Jaipur district, Rajasthan State;

(4) Gujarra in Datia district, Madhya Pradesh;

and (ii) the Southern versions occur at—

(5) Brahmagiri,
(6) Siddapura,
(7) Jatinga-Ramesvara
} in Chitaldurg district of Northern Mysore;

(8) Maski, in Raichur district, formerly in Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad;

(9) Erragudi, in Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh,

(10) Govimath, a hill near Kopbal in Raichur district, formerly in Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad,

(11) Palkigundu, a hill about 2 miles distant from Govimath in the same district,

(12) Rajula-Mandagiri, on a rock near Pattikonda in Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh.

(b) The unique Bhabru (or Bhabra) edict was discovered at Bhabra near Bairat (hence also called as Second Bairat Rock Edict) in Jaipur district of Rajasthan.

V. The Minor Pillar Edicts are four in number and they were discovered in the following places, as stated below—

(1) The Sārnāth Edict, at Sārnāth (ancient Ṛisipattana or Mrigadāva, Deer-Park), about 3-4 miles north of Banaras in Uttar Pradesh;

(2) The Kauśāmbi Edict, occurring on the Allahabad Aśokan Pillar referred to before;

(3) The Sāñchi Edict, near the southern entrance to the great Sāñchī stūpa, in former Bhopal State, now in Madhya Pradesh,

(4) The Queen's Edict, occuring on the Allahabad Aśokan Pillar, referred to before.

Two commemorative Minor Pillar Inscriptions were discovered at—

(1) Rummindei (reminding us of Lumbinī village or forest where Gautama Buddha was born), being north of Padaria and Bhagwanpur in the Nepalese Tarai, about a few miles from the Indian district of Basti, and (2) Nigliva, also in the Nepalese Tarai, north of the District of Basti.

VI. The Barabar Hill cave (Dedicative) Inscriptions were incised in caves excavated in hills at Barabar (called, most probably, Gorathagiri), some miles to the north of Gayā in South Bihar.

More than a century and a quarter ago began the decipherment of Aśokan Inscriptions discovered till then. Since Hultzsch's edition of Aśoka's Inscriptions (in *Corp. Ins. Indicarum* Vol. I) published in 1925, there have been new discoveries of some edicts, e. g. at Erragudi (M. R. E. I and R. E. I-XIII)

in 1929, at Raichur district (Govimath and Palkigundu M. R. E. I) in 1931, at Rajula-Mandagiri (some miles away from Erragudi M. R E. I.) in 1953, and at Gujarra (in old Datia State in M. P., M R. E. I) in 1954.

Besides all the above Inscriptions and their find-places as mentioned briefly, we have got reports and short summaries of certain other new records of Aśoka discovered in Afghanistan for which (such documents) some scholars held prophetic expectation. In the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African studies, University of London, Vol. XIII (1949-50), W. B. Henning has described a stone-fragment Aśokan Inscription which he called 'The Aramaic Inscription of Aśoka' found in the neighbourhood of Pul-i-Darunta, Laghmān and now kept in Kabul Museum. This Laghmān is the name of a district on the left (northern) bank of the Kabul river, a little above Jalalabad, known as Lampāka or Lambāka by Sanskritists, traditionally regarded as part of Indian border-land, the Ultima Thule of Jambudvīpa. This inscription written in Aramaic characters, is ascribed to Aśoka himself. Many words in Aramaic language prevail in it. It seems to be an abridged form of some passages in the other known Indian versions of Aśokan epigraphs. There are Indian words in it which are in North-Western Prakrit, i. e. Gandhārī Prakrit.

The only other Aramaic inscription known from India is the one discovered by Sir John Marshal at Taxila which most scholars now attribute to Aśoka's reign.

The information of another inscription of Aśoka discovered in Afghanistan written in bilingual Greek-Aramaic of Kandahar, is obtained from an article written by Umberto Scerrato in the March-June 1958 Number (New Series, Vol IX Nos, 1-2) in the Journal, *East and West*, published at Rome by Director Giuseppe Tucci, p 4ff. This Inscription is engraved on a block, being part of the mountain at the entry to Sher-i-Quna, the old city of Kandahar. The palaeographic examination by these Occidental scholars shows that this inscription, the first Greek inscription discovered in Afghanistan, dates back approximately to the 3rd century B. C. The Greek text and the Aramaic one are separated from each other by an interlinear space. The Aramaic text proves, according to scholars, to be a translation or rather a paraphrase of the Greek text. From the note of the Editor of the *East and West* (journal) giving a brief summary of the contents of the Greek text of this bilingual document, we learn that it is an edict of Aśoka, called in it as Piodasses (Piyadasī or Priyadarśī) who, as "the ruler of all things over the whole earth," prescribes to all people an abstention from doing harm or injury to living beings and asks even hunters and

fishermen "to cease their sinful activities" and expresses at the end of the document the wish that "his subjects comply with the rules and be obedient to their parents and old men." Since writing the above portion on this Afghanistan bi-lingual (Greek-Aramaic) inscription of Aśoka, I thankfully received from Srī Bratindra Nath Mukhopadhyaya M.A. a copy of the full translation of it, as published in the book, *Serio Orientalia Roma* XXI (ISMEO) under the caption, '*Un Editto Billingue Greco-Aramico Di Aśoka*'. We here insert some important points gathered from that translation. The Greek text states that king Priyadarśī announced his view on mercy at the tenth year from his consecration. The king and other men such as hunters and fishermen now forbear from killing living beings. Men have shaken off their intemperance, they have become obedient to their father and mother and the elders. The king expected all men to live in accordance with the code of behaviour prescribed by the monarch The Aramaic text has some additional information. It is stated there that conversion of Lord, king Priyadarśī took place in the tenth year. For some time past the king abolished evil for all men and living beings everywhere. Those who were in charge of royal kitchen were killing little. The hunters and fishermen were asked to note this. It is also said here that all those who are pious and obedient to their mother, father and the elder people will be able to enhance their good fortune

So we see that the good sentiments and ethical principles found enunciated in this Afghanistan record are in a way an echo of similar ideas found expressed in the Edicts discovered in India proper.

We can, therefore, easily have a clear idea of the extent of Aśoka's dominions from a study only of the provenance of his inscriptions discovered all over the vast area of India of his days, including Afghanistan in the north-west.

II Aśoka's Administration

In this topic I shall not write much in detail, but confine myself only to those important points which can be gathered from a study of the Edicts, omitting information obtained from other literary traditions and foreign sources.

Aśoka's was a very vast Indian empire over which he ruled for about forty years (from 272-73 to 232 B.C.). It was not quite feasible to carry on its administration from the Magadhan capital at Pātaliputra. This empire, it appears from the inscriptional records, was divided into certain separate administrative units or zones for the sake of convenient administration, of course, under the controlling supervision of the central government in Magadha.

'*Devānām-priyaḥ*' appears to have been the title used by former sovereigns. Aśoka is mentioned in most of his Edicts with either the fuller designation of '*Devānām priyah Priyadarśī Rājā*', or by the simpler appellations of only '*Devānām priyah*,' and '*Priyadarśī Rājā*'. It is not quite possible to know why the emperor liked to use these designations only without mention of his personal name as Aśoka (or his traditional name Aśokavardhana). But from the Gujarra and Maski versions of Minor Rock Edict I wherein only, upto now, we have the king named by the name of Aśoka, making it evident that his actual name was Aśoka. But that he was the Magadhan king is stated clearly in the Bhabra Edict.

The Governmental institution of Aśoka's grand-father Chandragupta Maurya and probably also of his father, Bindusāra, is known from the records left by Megasthenes who came upto the metropolis, Pātaliputra, and from other foreign writers and also from the most valuable politico-economic treatise, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the .Chancellor of the Court of Chadra-gupta, which deals with an excellent administrative organisation of a bureau-cratic type under a monarchy greatly influenced by a cabinet of ministers. Until at least the time when Aśoka embraced Buddhism he maintained the administrative principles, rules and regulations which were prevalent during the reigns of his two great predecessors. But later on Aśoka introduced certain novel administrative reforms based on ethical principles, specially regarding his inculcation of his idea of *Dharma*.

The home province of Magadha was administered from Pāṭaliputra (R.E.V.) and other administrative units or zones of different grades and sizes with their own head-quarters were under the royal representatives appointed by the emperor himself. Aśoka himself is traditionally known to have been the Viceroy at Ujjayinī and at other times at Takshaśilā (Taxila) during his father's reign. Both these cities were capital towns where princely Viceroys (probably of the royal blood) ruled. The north-westerly unit comprising the Punjab, Kāshmīra and Afghanistan seems to have been under the controlling jurisdiction of the Taxila Viceroy. The Prince (Viceroy) of Ujjayinī may have had the responsible control over Mālava, Gujarāt, and also over Surāshṭra. We know from the authority of Rudradāman's Junagarh Rock Inscription that Surāshtra was under Aśoka's governor, the Yavana (Greek) prince named Tushāspha who most probably was subordinate to the Ujjayinī Viceroy. The central administration at the metropolis had jurisdiction over a large area comprising the eastern region which included not only Bihar and Bengal, but also Mid-India with Uttarapradesh. It is Suvarṇagiri, situated near Erragudi (where were discovered a full set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, yet unpublished, and also a version of the Minor Rock Edicts I

and II), in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, which was the head-quarters of the South (Dakshināpatha) under another prince as the Viceroy. There is mention of another Southern city called Isila, which Dr. D. C. Sircar identifies with the modern Siddapur in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. It appears from the texts of the Brahmagiri and Siddapur versions of Minor Rock Edict I that the *Mahāmātras* (High State functionaries) were under the controlling authority of the Suvarṇagiri Viceroy. Another viceroyalty was created by Aśoka for administration of the territory of Kalinga at its capital at Tosalī near Bhuvaneswar in the district of Puri in Orissa after the former independent Kalinga Kingdom had been conquered and annexed as the result of a great and horrible war in the ninth regnal year of the emperor. There was another town near the Jaugada hill in the Ganjam district of Orissa and this was also an administrative head-quarter with official hierarchy, wherein high State functionaries (*Mahāmātras*) were placed to carry on the Government of the locality containing people of the border tribes who required special care and sympathy of the emperor. Similar institution of Mahāmātra-rule was entrusted with administrative duties over the people of the ancient city of Kośāmbī near Allahabad. It also seems certain that the Sāñchi and Sārnāth Pillar edicts were addressed by Aśoka to the *Mahāmātras* stationed in those two places

Thus we observe that Aśoka instituted several Viceroyalties at different distant cities to facilitate the administrative work of his vast empire under the supervision of the Viceroys and under that of his own. There were other important cities, far and wide, where high state executive officers were placed to carry on the administration according to the royal wish.

The Indian traditional ideal of paternal monarchy was never forgotten by Aśoka and he tried his utmost to keep up holy relationship between the ruler and the ruled as being similar to that existing between a father and his children. Hence we find such a motto as "*Save manuse pajā mamā*" i.e. 'all my subjects are my children' (Kalinga Separate R. E. I). In that Edict King Aśoka expresses his deep concern for the border and tribal people and clearly states what his kingly duties towards them should be. We know that Kauṭilya mentions the traditional list of eighteen *Tīrthas* or *mahāmātras* who are the highest ministerial functionaries in the body-politic of the empire. Aśoka followed, it appears, the same system of administration carried on by the *Mahāmātras*.

The powers and duties of the high officers named Rajūkas or Lajūkas are defined by Aśoka in Pillar Edict IV, wherefrom we learn that they were placed by the monarch over many hundred thousands of people. It is quite probable that they were in charge of the districts (*vishayas* of the *janapada* or

rāshṭra) acting like our present-day District officers or Magistrates and so they should not be likened to the Governors, at best they may be compared with the Divisional Commissioners. Their duties were to bring about happiness and welfare to the people of the country-side and confer favours on them. In the matter of *abhihāra* (arrest, or favour according to other scholars) and *danda* (punishment) they enjoyed the fullest independence (*ātmapatya*) Through the *dharma-yuktas* (subordinate officers of that name) these Rajūkas or Lajūkas should ascertain the cause of people's happiness and un-happiness and exhort country-folk on matters relating to this world and the next. The other governmental agents of lower rank, the *pulisas* or purushas, were also to serve the king loyally. The king, having made the Rajūkas extremely powerful and independent in affairs mentioned above, felt confident, like a man having entrusted his child to a skilful nurse, that they should perform their assigned duties fearlessly and confidently, without perhaps any constant reference to the emperor. But Aśoka was most anxious to see that uniformity in judicial procedure (*vyavahāra-samatā*) and uniformity also in award of punishment in criminal procedure (*daṇda-samatā*) were fully preserved. Another important power Aśoka gave to these high officers was the reprieve of three days granted by them to convicts in prisons under sentence of death-penalty to enable their relatives to move an appeal for their life concession, or in absence of such relatives, the convicts themselves might be enabled to give alms or to observe fasts for gaining the next world.

In Rock Edict III we read of the king's direction to *yukta* officers, the Rajūkas and the Prādeśikas (translated in this book as Magistrates who try, like the Pradeśtris of Kautilya, criminal cases and not as 'provincial governors') throughout his dominion to go out on tour of inspection every five years for inculcation of the Law of piety specially, just as well for their other assigned administrative duties. We can observe from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* that there were certain officials, not of a very high order, named *yuktas*, *upayuktas* and *purushas* who were Government employees in all departments of the Administration, and Kauṭilya was fully aware of the greedy character of such *yukta* officers when employed in the Revenue Department and so we find in the Edict under reference that Aśoka asks the *parishad* (i. e. the assembly of hearers (of the addresses and preachings of the officers on tour of inspection) to tell the *yuktas* of the Accountancy (*gananā*) Department to calculate properly according to the letter and spirit of the Government rules and regulations the expenses incurred by the touring officers in the tour of inspection (*saṁyāna*). Another kind of officers is known (from Pillar Edict VII) to have existed in Aśoka's Administration and they were called *mukhyas*, (i. e. chief officers in all administrative departments). In Kalinga separate Rock

Edict) it is found that Aśoka was anxious that the *nagara-vyavahāraka Mahāmātras* i. e. the City-administrators of justice should strive with the purpose that there occurred no restraint or torture to the townsmen without any cause. The king, therefore, wanted to send out on tour every five years such *Mahāmātras* as were not harsh or wrathful, but gentle and honest to fulfil his purpose. The king also wished that both from Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā (Taxila) the princes (Viceroys) should also send out on tour a similar body of high officials, but they would not over-pass three years. The *Mahāmātras* sent out on tour should understand their own mission well and act according to the royal instructions.

It may be presumed to be a fact that Aśoka could not, rather did not, make any attempt to incorporate into his empire the most southward kingdoms or states of India. But he had a very healthy and cordial influence on them, as is clear from Rock Edict II wherein we find that he not only made healing arrangements for both men and beasts in his own dominion, but also in the independent southern states—the 'frontagers'—e. g. the country of the Chodas (Cholas) on the south-east side of the Deccan (i. e. the Tanjavur-Tiruchārppalli region according to Dr. D C. Sircar), that of the Pāndyas in the Madurai-Ramanthapuram-Tirunelveli area, also the kingdoms of the Satyaputra (most probably a neighbouring region of the other such independent kingdom of the Keralaputra (almost the entire modern state of Kerala in the South-West of the Deccan, i e. Malabar) as far as Tāmraparnī (the river in Southern-Deccan, and not probably Ceylon which is also called by the same name, as taken by some scholars). These states were outside the Aśokan empire's borders in the south. In this Edict reference is also made to the Yona (Greek) king Antiyoka (i. e. Antiochos Theos of Syria or western Asia 261-264 B. C.) whose empire seems to have been almost conterminous with Aśoka's. In this Greek king's dominions as well as those of his neighbours (mentioned in R. E. XIII) Aśoka made the same healing arrangements, certainly by exporting from India medicinal herbs, roots and trees. Aśoka everywhere caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted on road-sides for the enjoyments of men and beasts. This Edict may serve as a clear evidence that Aśoka's system of medical service was of a high nature.

We read of further relation with foreign kingdoms or states. It appears from Rock Edict XIII that Aśoka's Administration had also a department of foreign affairs. The system of embassies in foreign land, of which we read so much in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, was in vogue during Aśoka's reign. He kept ambassadorial relation not only with Antiochos Theos of Syria, but with four other distant foreign rulers, namely (1) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), (2) Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia (278-277 to 239 B.C.),

(3) Magas of Cyrene in North Africa, west of Egypt (c. 285-258 B. C.) and (4) Alexander, king of Epirus (c. 272-255 B C) or according to some scholars Alexander of Corinth (c. 252-244 B C.) to all of whom he advanced, certainly through *dūtas* or political messengers, his own view that the chiefest conquest lay only in *dharma-vijaya* i. e. the victory of the Law of piety. These foreign kingdoms in the west, as well as the unconquered southern states of the Cholas and Pāndyas as far as Tāmraparnī, and also some countries included in his own dominion, namely of the Ionians (Greeks), the Kambojas (a race of people living in the Himālayan region of the west), the Nābhapantis of Nābhaga, the Bhojas (the people who occupied the Ellichpur area in Berar), the Pitinikas (probably the people near about Paithan or old Pratishthāna on the Godāvarī), the Andhras and the Pulindas (probably the hill-tribes of that name in the hill-areas of the Vindhya and Sātpurā ranges) all followed the instructions in the Law of piety as promulgated by Aśoka. The king adds to say in that Edict that in these foreign countries and the tribal and other people living at great distances in his own kingdom and even in those other countries where his envoys do not penetrate, the people on hearing of the Aśoka's ordinances preached on the Law of piety and his instruction on *Dharma* follow them in practice. The king even forbade his sons and great-grand-sons from thinking of conquering of new conquests by war and he wanted to bring it home to their mind that the real conquest is the conquest through the Law of piety, as it avails both for good in this world and the next. This may be regarded as a source of the modern *pañcha-śīla* method (the five principles of peaceful co-existence) adopted by certain countries of both the East and the West. In Aśoka's reign the sound of war-drum (*bherighosha*) turned into the sound of *dharma* (*Dharmagosha*).

This leads us to refer to a new departure from the ordinary business of administration, made by Aśoka, who introduced a new Government department by appointing a class of high functionaries called *Dharma-mahāmātras* in his fourteenth regnal year. A very great importance was attached to this new organization by the emperor who employed these officers for the specific purpose of establishing *Dharma* or the Law of piety among all religious sects and for the good and happiness of the *dharma-yuktas* through the growth of the *dharma*. He also asked these Dharma-mahāmātras to enforce *Dharma* on, and see to the welfare and happiness of, the Yavanas (Greeks), the Kāmbojas and the Gandhāras and other border people and they were also employed in the households of the emperor's brothers and sisters and other relatives. Their duty lay specially in increasing the ethically good virtues of the people.

Another good virtue that a king should possess is the virtue, called technically in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, as *utthāna* (in Book I, chapter 19). A live ex-

ample of that virtue was King Aśoka himself whose Rock Edict VI may be regarded as the best commentary to Kauṭilya's views on it. Aśoka regrets that formerly no proper transaction of (official) business (*artha-karma*) or no proper report (*prativedanā*) were prevalent, so he arranged that informants (*prativedakas*) were permitted to see him everywhere and at all times. There is always a chance of difference of opinion between the king and his *parishad* or Council of Ministers. So Aśoka enjoins that if in any matter of urgency a dispute or controversy arises, he should be immediately informed of the same, for, the monarch did never feel full satisfaction in promptness of action (*utthāna*) and dispatch of people's business (*artha-saṁtīranā*). The welfare of all people was regarded by him as his chief duty to do and he knew that in performing it, the root of success is exertion and dispatch of business (*arthasya mūlam-utthanaṁ*, as says Kautilya). By such energetic administration of his kingly duties Aśoka wanted to work for the welfare of his people

Of the eighteen *mahāmātras* mentioned by Kautilya and other books, we find one of them being named as *Ātavīka* i. e. the High Officer in charge of the forest tracts and their people. Aśoka certainly had such a Minister to deal with the forest folk. For in Rock Edict XIII we find the emperor's deep anxiety regarding the treatment towards the forest (*ātavika*) people. The sovereign's majestic power should, he says there, bring consolation to them, make them reflect properly and feel remorseful for wrong-doing, for, the king wishes all beings security, self-control, mental peace and gentleness.

There is a reference to another high state-functionary as, *anta-mahāmātras* (Kautilya's *antapālas* i.e the chief frontier officers i.e. the Wardens of the Marches) who were enjoined by Aśoka to lead fickle persons there to the right way because he desired administration (*pālana*), regulation and security to prevail according to *dharma*. Kotas (*durgas*) and districts (*vishayas*) are mentioned in the Sārnāth pillar edict and they were ruled by Mahāmātras (i. e. *durgapālas* and *vishayapatis*) who had their jurisdiction (*āhāra*) over them.

People pay taxes in the shape of land-revenue and other cesses to the king in return for the protection and security given by the latter. Aśoka made Lumbini village free of such taxes because it was the land of nativity of Lord Buddha. Generally speaking one-sixth of the land-produce was collected for the king's share, but Aśoka directed that the Lumbini people will enjoy the concession of giving only one-eighth of their land-produce.

The administrative regulation which restricted slaughter and mutilation of animals and catching of elephants and fish are explicitly mentioned in Pillar Edict V wherein Aśoka also relates that during the period which elapsed until his twenty-sixth consecration he ordered for twenty-five jail-deliveries (*bandhanamoksha*). Such releases of prisoners are dealt with in Kauṭilya's

Arthaśāstra also (Book II chap 36) It should not be regarded as the creation of new departments by Aśoka under the *straydhyaksha-mahāmātras* and the *vraja-bhūmtīkas* in R. E. XII The former's functions may have been allied to those of the *Antarvaṁśika Mahāmātras* (mentioned in Kautilya's book) who were in charge of supervisions over the Queens' Department. The latter word may be likened to the *Vivītādhyakshas* of Kautilya who were superintendents of pasture-lands. The word *vraja* is defined in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya (Book II. chap 6) as the herd of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses and mules. The pens where these animals are kept enclosed and their pasture-lands may be called *vrajabhūmis* and the officers *vrajabhūmikas* of Aśoka must have been superintendents of pastures (Vide. Arthaśāstra, BK II. 34). Thus we see that Aśoka's was a benevolent administration in all respects, because it was based on his *dharma* principles

III Aśoka's Dharma

To write anything about Aśoka's *Dhamma* is to write almost about the substance of all his edicts For, the edicts may all be regarded as so many *dharmānuśāsanas*. Whatever faith, undoubtedly the Brahmanic, which may have been held by the monarch earlier in life, or even for some years after his succeeding to the throne of Magadha, there is no doubt that he latter adopted, according to his own peculiar view on *dhamma*—his peculiar system of *dhamma* —the blissful ethical principles propounded so forcefully by the Buddha in his Eight-fold Path. He did not command the issue of any edict before becoming a Buddhist. We are told in R E XIII that a turn in his religious thought came after his conquest and annexation of the Kalinga country in his ninth regnal year. There arose in his mind a heavy remorse by thinking of the horrors of the Kalinga war in which one-and-a-half hundred thousand people were carried away as captives, one hundred thousand killed or wounded, and many times that number having died there. These slaughter, death and captivity of people seemed exceedingly serious to the monarch. He thought that amongst these people there must have been morally good men, possessing faith in some one religious sect or another. Aśoka was both a monk and a monarch. In some Buddhist countries in Asia, we hear of kings being members of the Sangha (Congregation or the Order). Some scholars think otherwise and do not like to regard the monarch as being a monk. Who can vouchsafe that king Aśoka did not remain a monk throughout the rest of his life after joining the Order with a strong feeling of remorse on account of the horrors of the Kaliṅga war. When four or five years after the annexation of Kaliṅga the emperor began to issue Rock Edicts, he felt that even a hundredth or thousandth part of the number of people killed or wounded, carried captive,

or dead would be regarded by him as very serious. Since then the chiefest conquest, in his opinion, was not the victory in a military war, but the victory of the Law of piety (*Dharma vijaya*) and in a way he advised his sons and (great) grand-sons not to think of conquering a new conquest by war and that they should consider that to be the real conquest which is the conquest through the Law of piety, as it avails both for good in this world and the next. It is presumed by almost all scholars that Aśoka's first publication of an edict was the set of Minor Rock Edicts I and II, which have up-to-now been found to consist of at least twelve versions. From M R. Edict I we learn that at the time of issue of this edict, probably four or five years after his conquest and annexation of the Kalinga territory, the king writes that for more than two and a half years he was a lay disciple (*Upāsaka*) in Buddhist faith without, however, making strenuous exertion (*prakrama*) in the promulgation of that faith and inculcation of religious instructions to the people during the first one year of that period (of two and a half years), but after that he began his *dharma* exertion. Then he adds that more than a year before the issue of that edict (i e 257 B C) he joined the (Buddhist) Order (the Sangha) and therefore having become a monk, he began to exert himself strenuously in the cause of religion. During this period of more than a year (*Sambatsara*) i e between the period of his entry into the *Sangha* and the issue of the edict (in C. 257) he was able to put in hard exertion for the spread of *dharma*-ideas. He declared that as the first fruit of his own exertion he succeeded in raising men to the level of the gods. He says in his inimitable way that during this period in the whole of Jambudvīpa (India) men, hitherto unmingled or unassociated with the gods, became mingled or associated with them. The emperor also felt that such a fruit of exertion can not only be attained by great people only, but even by small men, who all can by such zeal obtain immense heavenly bliss. Hence his proclamation was this:—"Let both small and great men exert themselves to such an end." He wanted to see such a purpose to increase from more to more. He did not forget to say that even people living beyond the Indian borders should strive for the same end. Since this time, as is also plain from Pillar Edict VI, the king began to cause to be written for the first time in his 13th regnal year edicts on stones and pillars relating to Dharma. Such proclamation as we find in M R. Edict I was very often made by the king while on tours abroad from his capital and we are told here that the particular proclamation was issued when the monarch was on his 256th such tour (*Vivāsa*), that is to say, he had already had 256 changes of camp on religious tours, probably during the period of his exertion in the cause of religion as referred to in this edict. It is very significant that in the second part (M R E. II) of this first inscription

issued by Aśoka, the king gives us in a summarised form his idea of the nature of Dharma according to which men must act. The ancient rule (*porānapakiti*) is this: "(1) Father and mother must be hearkened to, (2) respect for living beings must be established firmly, (3) truth must be spoken, (4) the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and (5) proper behaviour must be shown towards relatives." These are the virtues of the Law of piety (*dharmagunā*) which are strongly recommended for propagation and practice In a way these attributes form the kernel of Aśoka's ethical *dharma*.

After having joined the Buddhist *Sangha* Aśoka addressed the members of the order (in Bhabru edict) on his deep esteem and faith in the three jewels viz., the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha and referred to the old idea that 'whatever has been said by Lord Buddha has been well said,' and 'the Saddharma (Buddhism) will endure long'. In that unique and the avowedly Buddhist Edict Aśoka, probably in the first year (i e. the 13th regnal year) when he commenced the publication of his epigraphs, recommended not only to the monks (*bhiksus*) and the nuns (*bhīkshunīs or bhīkshukīs*) but also to the lay followers of Buddhism, both male (*Upāsakas*) and female (*upāsikās*), the seven most important scriptural passages which probably later than in the monarch's own time, found their proper place in the Pali canonical books such as the *Dhammapavacansutta* or the *Vinaya-Pitaka*, the *Mahavagga*, the *Dīghani kāya*, the *Anguttaranikāya*, the *Suttanipāta*, and the *Majjhima-nikāya*. The king certainly regarded these seven scriptural passages to be of utmost importance for study by all. The topics mentioned therein as guides for moral conduct are—(1) the excellence of discipline, (2) The noble state of living, (3) fears of future-happenings, (4) the gāthā (song) of the Hermit, (5) the dialogue on the Hermit's life, (6) the questionings of Upatishya and (7) the Buddha's exhortation to Rāhula on the subject of falsehood. All monks, nuns, and male and female lay worshippers were asked in the address by Aśoka to frequently listen to and reflect on these scriptural passages.

Though Aśoka may be regarded as the Head of the Buddhist Church he did not, it appears, make Buddhism the state religion, because he was tolerant to all sects and creeds. He thought there was no country where there were people who do not profess religious faith in one sect or another (R.E.XIII). He also thought that even if one did wrong to him, he should be pardoned by him so far as it was possible for him to pardon. Remorse or a feeling of shame should be felt by people for doing wrong deeds, otherwise they will be utterly ruined. Freedom from doing injury to others, self-control, mental tranquillity and gentleness should be practised by people, according to the king's views. He did not consider the delight of people even in achieving *dhamma-vijaya*, but he considered of much importance the gain which concerned the other world.

He recommended to his successors the achievement of joy through exertion, as such joy concerned both this world and the next. He cherished a deep faith in the other world, in the blissful state of heaven and believed in gods. There is reference to Aśoka's belief in universal destruction of all creations (in the words यावत्कल्पं and यावत्संवर्त्तकल्पं in R. E. VI). Aśoka used to exhibit in public such Buddhist edifying spectacles as representations of heavenly palaces, elephants, firebrands (bonfires) and other kinds of divine *rūpas* or images of gods. This world and the next (*ihaloka* and *paraloka*), and gods and men (*devas* and *mānushas*) are expressions which occur in many a context in the edicts. What a great respect he had for the sanctity of life! He raised a strong indictment against slaughter of animals for sacrifice (*anālambha* of *prānas*). He restricted the killing of animals for the royal table to one antelope and two peacocks only daily, in place of thousands of living creatures killed for the same purpose before. It seems very probable that later on he altogether stopped such slaughter and killing of animals. It cannot be ignored that Aśoka was up in arms against sacrificial slaughter that was prevalent in the country under the Brāhmanic system of Vedic sacrifices. He found offence in even convivial gatherings where meat-doles must have been distributed to merry-makers. Due to his compassion for animal-life the king brought out a code of regulations (in P. E. V) restricting slaughter and mutilation of various kinds of animals, birds and acquatic lives, prevention of caponing of cocks, of burning of chaff along with living creatures within, of forest conflagration, feeding of the living with the living, of castration and branding of cattle, and of destruction of elephant preserves or of fish-ponds and these were prominent features in the king's restrictive regulations. The king was not in favour of the various ceremonials (*mangalas*) performed by people on many occasions specially by the woman-kind, but was anxious to see people perform *dharma-mangalas*.

As stated before Aśoka based all his *dhamma* principles in his peculiar ethical system, on the teachings of Lord Buddha, which are also found expressed in several verses in the *Dhammapada*. The king declares in Pillar Edict II that "Dhamma (the Law of piety or Duty) is good." Then he asks himself as to what this *dhamma* consists in. He says that it consists in the following things, viz. freedom from sinful inclination, good acts of various kinds, compassion, liberal gifts, truthfulness and purity of mind. He wants all people to accept this instruction and such acceptance is also a meritorious act. Some other good traits of moral conduct on which Aśoka gave great stress and which he advised all his officers to inculcate to people during their tours of inspection are expressed in the following terms in R. E. III viz.—"Obedience to father and mother is an excellent thing; charity to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is an excellent thing, abstention from (sacrificial)

slaughter of living creatures is an excellent thing." By his own inculcation of *dhamma* Aśoka succeeded to arrest the increase during the past hundreds of years of sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, injury to creatures, disregard towards relatives and disregard towards Brāhmanas and Śramanas, by means of his own practice of *dharma* and his own proclamation of the Law of piety, the sound of which became now the real sound of the drum (R. E. IV). But the emperor used to tell his officers and people that a good deed is a difficult job to perform and that he asked them to remember that sin is a thing which should be well weeded out.

It is an historical fact that before and probably during the first part of Aśoka's reign there was evident intolerance and division amongst different Buddhist sects or classes regarding not only the original sayings of the Buddha but also many principles involved in Vinaya (discipline) rules. Hence there was necessity of calling the Third Council. But from the text of the Sārnāth Pillar Edict (issued very probably towards the last decade of Aśoka's rule) we observe that Aśoka was very anxious to suppress schism (*sanghabbheda*) for bringing about disunity among the members of the Buddhist Church. So he prescribed in that Edict the penalty for schism. He, it seems, addressed the Mahāmātras (more possibly the *Dharma-mahāmātras*) instructing them to see that no person shall be allowed to cause division in the Church (the *Saṅgha*). He declares in that Edict the punishment for such schismatic offence. He says: "Whosoever, a monk or a nun, shall break up the Sangha shall be caused to put on white robes and compelled to dwell in another residence i.e, not the monastery". A copy of this royal order to the *Mahāmātras* was posted in the king's highway (*saṁsaraṇa*). Another copy was made accessible to the lay-disciples. All these persons should attend the fast-day (*uposatha*) service and make themselves inspired with confidence in this ordinance. The High State Officers were directed to enforce this prescribed decree of expulsion on the offenders in fortified towns (*koṭas*) and the districts (*vishayas*), in accordance with the letter of this Edict. In rhe Sāñchi Edict the monarch declares that it was his desire that the Saṅgha (the Church) may remain united or entire and may endure long.

Religious toleration in India is traditional. Co-existence of all religious sects and creeds prevails even now and more prominently. But the root of such toleration may well be traced to Aśoka's religious activities. The emperor in his famous Rock Edict XII has expressed his considered view on religious toleration in a most attractive manner. Therein he stated that he used to honour men of all religious communities with gifts and other kinds of reverence. But he was most concerned, not in such gifts etc., but in his desire to see that there should be a growth of the essentials in all sects (*sarvapāsaṇḍānāṁ sāra-vṛiddhiḥ*).

And he thought that the root of this growth lay in restraint of speech (*vaco-gupti*). This restraint is thus explained in the Edict—"there should not be reverence (only) to one's own sect (*ātma-pāsaṇḍapūjā*) and disparagement of other sects (*parapāsnaṇḍa-garhā*)". In Aśoka's opinion, all other sects ought to be honoured by all men in all ways. Thus acting they would be able to promote their own sect and benefit the other sects. Acting otherwise they would hurt their own sect and harm other sects. He also thinks that if people only show devotion to their own sect only for its glorification and blame other sects, they thereby injure severely their own sect. So the monarch declares that concord (*samāvāya*) is commendable and the result of this would be that men of all sects would willingly hear each others' *dharma*. He only wished that men belonging to all sects should be versed in many lores and stick to virtuous deeds. So Aśoka spoke to the *Dharma-mahāmātras* and other high state officers that he did not attach great importance to making gifts and showing honours only to, but to promoting the growth of the essentials of Dharma in men of all sects. The promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of *Dharma* should be the chief aim of all men, official or non-official. Having an eye to such a view on his own and other religious communities, Aśoka visited in the 21st year of his reign the village of Lumbini, the place of nativity of Lord Buddha to offer his personal worship to it and made it tax-free, subject to payment by the villagers of only one-eighth of their land produce in lieu of the usual rate. Again, in the 15th year of his reign Aśoka enlarged the *stūpa* of the former Buddha Konākamana (Kanakamuni) to its double size and in his 21st regnal year he visited the spot to pay his personal worship to it. So we find that Aśoka believed on the worship of the previous Buddhas and in visits to places of pilgrimage. Aśoka also dedicated two caves in the Barabar (Khalatika-parvata) hills in the 13th year of his reign to the Ājīvikas and another cave in the same hills was given by some unnamed donor in the 20th year of Aśoka's reign for the shelter (of the ascetics) during the rainy season.

I wish to conclude this Section on Aśoka's *Dharma* by referring the readers to the matter embodied in his Pillar Edict VII wherein the emperor gives a review of the measures introduced by him for the propagation of the Law of piety throughout his Indian dominions up to at least the twenty-eighth year of his reign. The emperor was anxious for evolving means by which he would be able to lift his people up through the growth of the Law of piety (*dharma-vṛddhi*), for, he was aware of the failure of former kings to enforce that Law. So he arranged to cause sermons on the Law to be preached and ordered for instructions of various kinds. He appointed many *purushas* (serving agents) to expound and expand the king's teaching on *dharma* to the people. The Rajūka officers were also asked to exhort the body of the *Yukta* officers subordinate to them. The institution of the

new department of *dharma* headed by the new Ministers called *Dharma-mahāmātras* has been referred to in the previous section. These special High state-officers were entrusted with the duties of distribution of royal favours in respect of both ascetics and householders. They were directed to the interest and good of all sects living in the king's dominions, such as, the Brāhmaṇas, the Ajīvikas, the Nirgranthas (the Jains) and other miscellaneous denominations, including of course, the Buddhist Church. The *mukhyas* (chiefs of departments) were also employed by the emperor in the act of distributions of charities or alms not only on behalf of the king, but also on that of the queens, the princes and his other sons through other women. Aśoka, in a way, asked all people to imitate the royal example of doing virtuous deed and conforming to rhe royal instructions and to obey their parents and the elders and to show seemly behaviour towards the Brāhmanas, the Śramanas, the miserable and the wretehed persons, even towards the slaves and the servants. The King did not attach much importance to royal regulations of the Law of piety, but gave the highest value to *niddhyāti* i.e. reflection on the *dharma* and the full acceptance of its principles which alone will lead to the growth of *dharma* resulting in *avihiṁsā* (want of injury or violence) and *anālambha* (avoidance of sacrificial slaughter). Hence he commanded for issue of royal edicts to be evgraved on stone pillars and slabs of rock wherever they existed.

IV Language of the Aśokan Dialects

It is not my intention to discuss much in details the most important question of the language of the Aśokan edicts which are distributed on rocks and pillars in all the four quarters of the India of Aśoka's reign. This book and the Introduction are chiefly intended for the use of Indian University students and the general reading public. Keener researchists in linguistics may be referred to Hultzsch's Grammar of the regional languages used in the Edicts (*C. I. I.* Vol. I, Introduction) and Senart's discussion of linguistic peculiarities in the dialects of the Edicts (*in Les Inscriptions de Piyādasi*) There is absolutely no doubt that Emperor Aśoka was anxious to raise the morals of his people by the propagation of the ethical system of religion he himself evolved and for this reason he must have been anxious to get his Edicts drafted and composed at the outset in his capital in Magadha, and directed the language experts to translate them into the particular Prakrit dialects of the particular regions, the North-West, the Mid-India, the West and the South. Aśokan dialects seem to us to be the earliest specimens of Prakrit in India. The North-Western dialect in which the Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar district) and Mansehra (Hazara district) versions of the Rock Edicts written in Kharoshṭhī script were composed must have been influenced by the Gandhārian type of popular language prevalent in and near the North-western frontier regions under Aśoka's administration. Students of comparative study of the oldest Prakrits available in the country may read along

with these Gandhārian Prakrit dialects preserved in Aśokan documents, the somewhat later instances of Prakrit used in the Prakrit Dhammapada (Turfan recension of it) got from Central Asia or rather Chinese Turkistan, published by the late Dr B M. Barua and Professor S. N. Mitra in 1921 in a Calcutta University publication, having based their texts on Senart's Kharoshthī Manuscript. I feel sure that researchists will mark much affinity between the language of this Prakrit Dhammapada and that of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts of Aśoka. Dr. Barua and Professor Mitra are of opinion that the language of this Dhammapada has clearly got older Pali and Prakrit forms occasionally tinged at places with some kind of Sanskritisation.

Now I propose to state below some special features of the dialects used in Aśokan epigraphs roughly classified for observation on linguistic peculiarties, as (1) the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra group, (2) Mid-Indian group including the Kalinga specimens, (3) The Girnar and Sopara group and (4) the South-Indian group where Prakrit was imported from the north. Firstly, we might say that the different dialects used for local necessity as published by royal command in the different regions of India are closely related to each other not only in substance but in form also. Below are given a few sentences from these four regional varieties of dialects by way of illustration of their special features :—

From Shahbazgarhi version (R E. VI)

1 (a) यं पि (च) किचि मुखतो अणपयमि (अहं) दपकं श्रवक व य व पन महमत्रनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे सत निझति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पाटिवेदेतवो मे सर्वत्र सत्रं कलं।
(pp. 31-32)

From Manshera version of the same Edict.

(b) यं पि किचि मुखति अणपेमि अह दपकं व श्रवकं व यं व पुन महमत्रेहि अचयिके अरोपित होति, तये अथ्रये विवदे निझति च संत परिपये अनतलियेन पटिवेदितविये मे सत्रल सत्र कल।
(pp. 31-32).

In the above two passages (only diffeient versions of the same sentence) we can observe that the Gandhār Prakrit dialect of Aśoka's time had some of the following special features: —

(1) No use of long vowels, such as ā, ī etc ,

(2) absence of final consonant (किचि) ,

(3) retention of all the three sibilants *Śa*, *sha* and *sa*,

(4) No conjunct consonants, except mostly in cases of conjuncts with either superscript or subscript *r* ,

(5) Occasional use of superscript *r* used as subscript, e.g. अथ्रये (अर्थाय), सव्र (सर्वे),

(6) existence of cerebral n in some words like अणपयमि (आज्ञापयामि) and अणपेमि ;

(7) Nominative singular of अकारान्त words ending in ए (as in later Māghadhī) ;

(8) No assimilation of compound consonants;

(9) Retention of *r* (not changed to *l*) mostly.

2 (a) देवानं पिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा—कयानं मेव देखति इयं मे कयाने कटेति। नोमिन पाप देखति—इयं मे पापे कटे ति, इयं वा आसिनवे नामाति। (D—T version of P. E. III, P. 87)

(b) देवानं पिये हेवं आहा—समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालका हेवं वतविया—अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि, किंति, कंमन पटिपातयेहं, दुवालते च आलमेहं। एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं— —अं तुफेसु अनसुथि। (Separate R E. I. P. 115)

(c) ए केचि भंते भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा, ए चु यो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे चिलठितीके होसतीति अलहामि हकं तं वतवे। (Bhabru Edict P. 129)

(d) हेवं देवानं पिये आहा—हेदिसा इका लिपि तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति संसलनसि लिखिता—इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपसवानंतिकं निखिपाथ। (Sārnāth P. E p. 147).

From the above four passages from the Mid-India group, distributed at so distant places as Ambala, Kalinga (Ganjam), Jaipur (Rajasthana) and Banaras (U.P.) we can find out some of the following dialectical similarities :—

(1) Extensive use of *l* for *r* (as in later Māghadī Prakrit);
(2) Nominative Singular of अकारान्त words ending in *e*,
(3) No assimilation of compound consonants,
(4) Use of *Svarabhakti* vowel e.g. in asinave (=आस्रव·), दुवालते (=द्वारत.), अलहामि (=अर्हामि) ,
(5) Use of हकं for अहं (as in later Māghadī Prakrit),
(6) हमियाये (for Pkt. ममाइ=Skt. मया), a peculiar form,
(7) The Māgadhī *d* in place of Skt. क्र for the root कृ becomes *t*, e g. कटे ,
(8) The conjunct ल्य (of कल्याण) becomes य्य and then single य as in कयाने ,
(9) No cerebral *n*,
(10) Peculiar change of *mha* or *jjha* of Prakrit forms तुम्हाणं or तुज्झाणं and तुम्हेसु or तुज्झेसु, into *pha* e.g. तुफाकं and तुफेसु ;
(11) The infinitive (तुं) is replaced by Vedic infinitive in तवे.

3. एस अञे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते, वढयिसति चेव देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं। पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो वधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव संवटकपा, धंमम्हि सीलम्हि तिसटंतो धंमं अनुसासिसंति। (Girnar version of R. E. IV pp. 16-17).

From the above passage from the western region of Girnar we find the language in the stage of growth of the Pali which appears to have so much

affinity with this Aśokan dialect. A few special features of this dialect may be enumerated here: —

(1) Retention of र् (as in राजा) in place of ल् as in other dialects,
(2) The subscript र् being used as the superscript as in र्पियो ;
(3) Single ञ for Pali ञ्ञ (for Sanskrit न्य) as in अञे ;
(4) No assimilated consonants as in वढयिसति where स्स in Pali being absent here;
(5) Initial य being substituted by vowel, as in आव (for Sanskrit यावत्),
(6) त becoming ट (for ट्ट) as in संववटकपा (Sanskrit संवर्त्तकल्प).
(7) ष्ठ becoming स्ट as in तिस्टन्तो ;
(8) Retention of o in Nominative singular of अकारान्त stems,
(9) ड्ढ (for Sanskrit र्द्ध) becoming single ढ only,
(10) ण is sometimes retained,
(11) The locative singular ending म्हि (as in सीलम्हि) being also used in Pali along with स्मिं ;
(12) Lengthening of अ in राजो for Pali राञ्ञो ,
(13) Retention of only स.

4. पकमस हि इयं फले । नो हीयं सक्ये महात्पेनेव पापोतवे, काम तु खो खुदकेन पि पकम-मिणेण विपुले स्वगे सक्ये आराधेतवे । एतायठाय इयं सावणे सावापिते—महात्पा च इमं पकमेयुति । (Brahmagiri version of M. R. E. I. pp. 129-130).

The above passage from the Southern region shows some such dialectical peculiarities as. —

(1) Use of ण retained sometimes (as in पकममिणेण and सावणे),
(2) Use of ए in nominative singular of अकारान्त words instead of ओ (as in फले and स्वगे) ;
(3) The *Svara-bhakti* process is observed in पकमस for प्रक्रमस्य ;
(4) The Vedic infinitive form तवे much used as in (पापोतवे and आराधेतवे) ;
(5) र is also used and not ल as in the dialects of the central group including Kalinga;
(6) Want of assimilated consonants;
(7) त्प used for त्म as in महात्पा ,
(8) Only स is observed.

From the above four sets of examples we have seen that there are certain dialectical differences prevailing in the four regions as classified.

AŚOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

FOURTEEN ROCK EDICTS

EDICT I (TEXT)*

G—	(१) इयं	धमलिपी	देवानं	पिं (प्रि)येन (२)	पि (प्रि)यदसिना	राञा
K—	(१) इय	धंमलिपि	देवानं	पियेन	पियदसिना	—
D—	(१) (इयं)	— पि (प)वतसि(दे)वानं		पि(ये)	—	(ला)जि(ना)
J—	(१) इयं	धंमलिपी खपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानं पियेन			पियदसिना	लाजिना
S—	(१) (अ) यं	ध्रमदिपि	देवन	प्रिंयस —	—	रञो
M—	(१) अयि	ध्रमदिपि	(दे)वन	(प्रिं)येन	(प्रि)यद्र(सि)न	र-न

G—	लेखापिता	(।)	इध	न	किं (३) चि	जीवं
K—	लेखि(ता)	(।)	हिदा	ना	किछि	जिवे
D—	(लिखा)	(।)	—		— इ	(जी)वं
J—	लिखापिता	(।)	हिद	नो	किछि	जीवं
S—	लिखपितु	(।)	हिद	नो	किचि	जिवे
M—	(लि)खपित	(।)	हिद	नो	किचि	जिवे

G—	आरभित्पा(त्पा)	पं (प्र)जूहितव्य(व्यं)	(4)	न		च	समाजो	कतव्यो (व्यो)	(।)
K—	आलभि(तु)	पजोहितविये	(२)	नो	पि	चा	समाजे	कटविये	(।)
D—	आलभितु	पजोह —	(२)	(नो)	(पि)	च	समा —	—	
J—	आलभि(तु)	पजोहित(वि)ये	(२)	(नो)	पि	च	समाजे	कटविये	(।)
S—	अर(भि) (तु ?)	प्रयुहोतवे		नो	पि	च	समज	कट (व)	(।)
M—	अरभि (तु ?)	प्र(यु) (२) (हो)तविये		नो	पि	च	सम(ज)	कटविय	(।)

* This set of Aśokan Rock Edicts consists of the following versions: (1) Girnar (Junāgarh, Kathiawar), (2) Kalsi (Dehra-Dun, U P.), (3) Dhauli (Puri, Orissa), (4) Jaugada (Ganjam, Orissa), (5) Shahbazgarhi (Peshwar, N. W. F. P. of Pakistan), (6) Mansehra (Hazara, N. W. F. P. of Pakistan) and (7) Erragudi (Karnool, Andhra), the text of which is not yet published by the Archaeological Department. Only a few words of R. E. VIII and IX have been discovered at Sopara (Thana, Bombay State).

G—	बहुकं	हि	दोसं (5)	समाजम्हि	पसति	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)यो
K—	बहु(का)	हि	दोसा	ससाज(सा)	—	देवानं	पिये
D—	—		—	—	—	—	—
J—	बहुकं	हि	दोस	समाजसि	(द)खति	देवानं	पिये
S—	(ब)हुक	हि	दोषं	सम(ज)स	—	देवन	प्रि(यो)
M—	बहुक	हि	(दोष	समजस	—	देव)नं	प्रिये

G—	पिं (प्रि)यदसि	राजा (1) (6)		अस्ति पि तु	एकचा	समाजा
K—	पियदसि	लाजा दखति	(1)	अथि पि चा	एकतिया	स(मा)ज
D—	—	— —	(1)	— इ —	(तिया)	(स)मा(जा)
J—	पियदसी	लाजा	(1)	अथि पि चु	एकतिया	समाजा
S—	प्रिअद्रशि	रय द(ख)ति	(1)	अस्ति पि च	एकतिए	समये
M—	प्रि(यद्रशि)	(र)ज-ख	(1)	अस्ति पि चु (3)	(ए)कतिय	समज

G—	साधुमता	देवानं(7)	पिं(प्रि)यस		पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो	राञो	(1)
K—	सा(धु)मता	देवानं	पियसा		पियदसि(सा)	लाजिने	(1)
D—	(सा)धुमता	देवा	—	(3)	(पियदसि)ने	(लाजिने)	
J—	साधुमता	देवानं	पियस	(3)	पियदसिने	लाजिने	(1)
S—	स्र स्रमति	देवन	प्रिअस		प्रिअद्रशिस	रञो	(1)
M—	स(धु)म(त)	देवन	प्रियस		(प्रि)यद्रशि(ने)	रजिने	(1)

G—	पुरा	महानसम्हि(8)	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)यस	पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो	राञो
K—(3)	पुले	महानससि	देवानं	पियसा	पियदसिसा	लजिने
D—	—	महा —	(नं)	—	पिय	—
J—	पुलुवं	महा(नस)सि	देवानं	पियस	पियदसिने	लाजिने
S—	पुर	महनससि	देवनं	प्रिअस	प्रिअद्रशिस	रञो
M—	पुर	मह(नस)सि	(देवन)	प्रि-स	प्रि—शिस	र(4)जिने

G—	अनुदिवसं	ब(9)हूनि	पां(प्रा)णसतसहसां(स्रा)नि	आरभिसु
K—	अनुदिवसं	बहुनि	पानसहसानि	आलभियिसु
D—	—नु—	—इ	(पानसतस)	(आल)भियि(सु)
J—	अनुदिवसं	ब(हू)नि	पानसतस(ह)सानि	आलभियिसु
S—	अनुदिवसो	बहुनि	प्र(णशतस)ह(स्र)नि	अ(रभियिसु)
M—	अनुदिव—	बहुनि	प्रणश(तस)हस्रनि	अ(र)-सु

G—	सूपाथाय (।) (10)	से	अज	यदा अयं	धंमलिपि	लिखिता
K—	सुपथा(ये) (।)	से	इदानि	यदा (इयं)	धंमलिपि	लेखिता तदा
D—	सूपठा(ये) (।) (4)	से	(अज)	अदा (इयं)	धं(म)लिपि	लिखिता
J—	सूप(ठा)ये (।) (4)	से	अज	अदा इय	धंमलिपि	लिखिता
S—	सु(पठाये) (।)	सो	हद(ंनि)	यद अय (3)	ध्रमदिपि	लिखित तद
M—	सुप(थ)रये (।)	से	(इ-नि)	— अयि	ध्रम(दिपि)	(लि)खित त(द)

G—	ति	एव	र्पा(प्रा) (11) णा	आरभरे	सूपाथाय	द्वो	मोरा
K—	तिंनि	येवा	पानानि	आलभि(य)ंति(3)	—	दुवे	मजुला
D—	तिंनि	—	—	—(ल)भि(य)	—	—	—
J—	तिंनि	येव	पानानि	आलभियंति	—	दुवे	मजुला
S—	त्र(यो)	वो	प्रण—	हंञंति	मजुर	दुवि 2	
M—	ति(नि)	ये—	प्रणनि	अ—भि—ति		दु(वे) 2	मजु(5)र

G—	एको	मगो	(।)	सो पि (12)	मगो न धुवो	(।)	एते पि
K—	एके	मिगे	(।)	से पि च	मिगे न धुवे	(।)	एतानि पि (च)
D—	—	—		—	— —		— —
J—	एके	मिगे	(।)	से पि चु	मिगे नो धुवं	(।)	एतानि पि (चु)
S—		म्रुगो (2)	(।)	सो पि	म्रुगो नो ध्रुवं	(।)	एत पि
M—	एके।	(म्रि)गे	(।)	से (पि चु)	म्रिगे नो ध्रुवं	(।)	एतानि पि चु

G—	र्ती (त्री)	र्पा(प्रा)णा	पछा	न	आरभिसरे	(।)
K—	तिनि	पानानि	—	नो	आलभियिसंति	(।)
D—	तिंनि	पानानि	पछा	(नो)	(आ) (ल)भियिसं(ति)	(।)
J—	तिंनि	पानानि (5)	पछा	नो	आलभियिसंति	(।)
S—		प्रणत्रयो	पछ	न	अरभिशंति	(।)
M—	(तिनि)	(प्रणनि)	पछ	नो	अरभि—	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

इयं धर्म्मलिपिः देवानां प्रियेण (देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना लेखिता। इह न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः। न अपि च समाजः कर्त्तव्यः। बहुकान् हि दोषान् समाजस्य देवप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा पश्यति। सन्ति अपि च एकतरा समाजाः साधुमताः देवप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः। पुरा महानसे

देवप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञ अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राण(शत)सहस्राणि आलप्सत सूपार्थाय। तत् इदानीं यदा इयं धर्म्मलिपि लेखिता तदा त्रय एव प्राणा आलभ्यन्ते—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः। स अपि च मृगः न ध्रुवम्। एते अपि च त्रय प्राणा न आलप्स्यन्ते।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

This Edict of the Law of piety has been caused to be written or inscribed by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods. Not a single animal should be here sacrificed by slaughtering (the same). Nor should any convivial assemblage (or gathering or party) be held. For, King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods, sees many defects or offences in such a (social) gathering. There are, however, certain such (social) parties which are regarded as good by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods. Formerly in the kitchen of King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods, many (hundred) thousands of lives were daily slaughtered for (making) curries. So now when this edict of the Law of piety is being caused to be written, (then) only three lives are slaughtered (i.e., for curry), two peacocks and one antelope. The antelope, however, is not (killed) invariably or surely. Even these lives shall not be slaughtered (in future).

WORD NOTES

(1) हिदा—cf. इध (G), हिद (S. M. J)=Skt. इह, which may refer to the Capital, or the whole dominion, or the particular places of the rock edicts.

(2) आलभितु—Absolute participle (gerundial sense), Skt.=आलभ्य, by slaughtering. cf. आरभित्पा of G. Compare the forms below—(1) आलभियिसु (=Skt. आलप्सत), लुङ् (aorist), 3rd p., pl.; (2) आलभियंति (=Skt. आलभ्यन्ते) लट् form, and (3) आलभियिसंति (=Skt आलप्स्यन्ते) लिट् form. The form आरभरे in G is used in लिट् (=Skt. आलभिरे).

(3) समाजे—Kautilya uses this word in contexts which throw much light on its interpretation here. cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 21, II. 25, V. 2, XIII. 3, 5. He generally uses this word separately in such expressions as यात्रा-समाजोत्सव-प्रवहणानि, उत्सव-समाज-यात्रासु, यात्रा-समाजाभ्या, समाजे, दैवत-प्रेतकार्य्योत्सव-समाजेसु, देशदैवत-समाजोत्सव-विहारेषु. Therein the meaning of the word definitely refers to a convivial meeting such as a party, where an assemblage of persons for social purposes meets and where meals and beverage are supplied or served. Kauṭilya (in

BK II. 25) says that for उत्सव, समाज and यात्रा occasions beverage can be freely used by people for four days and (in BK. XIII) the victorious king is enjoined to show due respect to दैवत, समाज, उत्सव and विहार of the conquered countries. Generally speaking Aśoka was not in favour of such समाज's.

(4) एकतिया—cf Pali एकच्च or एकच्चिय Some among many.
एकत्या· is not a Skt. word. It appears that it comes from (Skt. एकतर> एकत्त> एकत्य> एकतिय (=certain, a few among many).

(5) पुले—cf पुरा (G), पुर (S.M.), पुलुवं (D.=पूर्व'). पुले=Pali पुरे from Skt. पुरस्, indeclinable, meaning formerly, before. The lengthening of अ into ए is due to elision of स् at the end Its antethesis is पछा=Skt. पश्चात्, afterwards.

(6) मजुला and मृगे—Here in the edict we should not take the first word मजुला (=Skt. मयूरौ) and the second मृगे (=Skt. मृग·) to represent generally all kinds of animals and birds as interpreted by some scholars.

(7) धुवे—=Skt. ध्रुव' ; it is used here adverbially in the sense of surely or verily or certainly. It should not be taken as an adjective to मिगे.

EDICT II (TEXT)

G— (1)	सर्वत	विजितम्हि	देवानम्	पिं(प्रि)यस	पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो	रञो
K— (1)	सवता	विजितसि	देवान'	पिय(सा)	पियदसि(सा)	लाजिने
D— (1)	(स)वता	(वि)(जि)तसि	(दे)वानं	पियस	पियदसि(ने)	—
J— (1)	स(व)त	विजितसि	देवानं	पिय(स)	पि(य)दसिने	लाजिने
S— (1)	सव्रत	विजिते	देवानं	पियस	प्रियद्रशिस	—
M—(1)	स—त्र	—जितसि	देवन	प्रिय(स)	(प्रिय)द्रशिस	रजिने

G— (2)	एवं पि	पं(प्र)चंतेसु	यथा	चोडा	पाडा	सतियपुतो	केतलपुतो
K—	ये च अंता		अथा	चोडा	पं(डि)या	सतियपुतो	केतलपुतो
D—	——		—	—	—	—	—
J—	एवा पि अंता		अथा	चोडा	पंडिया	सतियपु(ते)	—
S—	ये च (अं)त		यथ	(चो)ड(4)	पंडिय	सतियपुत्र	केरलपुत्र
M—	ये च अंत		अ(थ) (6)	(चोड)	प(ं)डिय	सतिय(पुत्र)	केरलपु(त्र)

G—	आ तंब(3)पंणी	अंतियको	योनराजा	ये वा पि
K—	तंबपंनि(5)	(अं)तियोगे-नाम	योनलाजा	ये चा अंने
D—	—	(अ)तियोके नाम	(योन)लाजा(6)	(ए) वा — (पि)
J—	— (णी)	अंतियोके नाम(7)	योनलाजा	ए वा पि
S—	तंबपंनि	अंतियोको नम	योनरज	ये च अंञे
M—	—वपणि	तियो(के) नम	योन—	ये च —

G—	तस	अंतियकस	समीपं(4)	राजानो	सर्वर्त(त्र)	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)यस
K—	तसा	(अं)तियोगसा	सामंता	लाजानो	सवता	देवानं	पि(य)सा
D—	—स	अंतियो(क)स	सामंता	लाजाने	(स)व(त)	(देवा)-'	(पियेन)
J—	तस	अंतियोकस	सामंता	लाजाने	सवत	देवानं	पियेन
S—	तस	अतियोकस	समंत	(र)जनो	सव्रत्र	देवनं	प्रियस
M—	—स	———	समंत	रज—	-व्रत्र	—	प्रियस

G—	पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो	राञो	द्वे	चिकीछ	कता(5)	मनुसचिकीछा	च
K—	पियदसिसा	लाजिने	दुवे	चिकिसका	कटा	मनुसचिकिसा	च
D—	(पि)य(द)सि(ना)	—	—	च —	—	———सा	च
J—	पियदसिना	लाजि-	—	———	—	—(चि)किसा	(च)
S—	प्रियद्रशिस	रञो	दुवि 2	(चिकि)स	कि(ट्र)	मनुश(चिकि)स	—
M—	प्रिय(द्र)शिस	रजिने (7)	दुवे 2	चिकिस	कट	मनुशचि(किस	च)

G—	पसुचिकीछा	च	(1)	ओसुढानि	च यानि	मनुसोपगानि	च
K—	पसुचिकिसा	च	(1)	ओसधा(नि)	———	मनुसोपगानि	चा
D—	प—(चि)-सा (च)		(1)	—धानि (7)	आ(नि)	(मुनिसोपगा)नि	
J—	पसुचिकिसा	च	(1)	ओसधानि	आनि	मुनिसोपगानि	
S—	पशु(चिकि)स	च	(1) (5)	(ओषुढ)नि	—	मनुशोपकनि	च
M—	पशुचिकिस	च	(1)	ओष(ढि)नि	—	मनु—क(नि	च)

G—	पसोपगानि	च	यत	यत	नास्ति	सर्वर्त(त्र)	हारापितानि	च
K—	पसोपगानि	च	अ(त)ता		नथि(6)	सवता	हालापिता	चा
D—	पसुओपगा(नि)	च	अतत		नथि	स(व)(त)	(हा)लापि(ता)	च
J—	पसुओपगानि	च	अतत		नथि	सव(त)	———	—
S—	प(शो)पकनि	च	यत्र	यत्र	नस्ति	सवत्र	ह(रो)पित	च
M—	प—क(नि	च	य)त्र	यत्र	न—	व्रत्र	हरपि(त	च)

G—	रोपापितानि	च(।)(7) —	मूलानि	च	फलानि	च	यत	यत	नास्ति
K—	लोपातिता	च(।)	(ए)वमेवा मूलानि	चा	फलानि	चा	अतता		नथि
D—	(लोपापि)ता	च(।)	(मूला)	—	—		—		—
J—	——	—(।)	— —	च	—		अतत		नथि
S—	वुत	च (।)							
M—	रोपपि(त	च)(।)(8)	(एव)मेव मुलनि	च	फलनि	च	अत्र	अत्र	नस्ति

G—	सर्वर्त(त्र)	हारापितानि	च	रोपापितानि	च (।)	(8) पंथेसू	कूपा च
K—	सवता	हालापिता	चा	लोपापिता	चा(।)	मगेसु	लुखानि
D—	(व)ता	(हा)लापिता	च(8)	लो(पा)पिता	च (।)	म(गेसु)	उ-पानानि
J—	सव(तु)	हाला(पि)ता	च	लोपापिता	च (।)	मगेसु	उदुपानानि
S—	—	—	—	—	—	—	कुप च
M—	—त्र	हरपित	च	रो(पपि)त	च (।)	म(गेषु)	रुछ

G—	खानापिता	वें(त्र)छा	च	रोपापिता	परिभोगाय	पसुमनुसानं (।)
K—	लोपितानि	उदुपानानि	च	खानापितानि	पटिभोगाय	पसुमुनिसानं (।)
D—	खानापितानि	(लु)खानि	च	लोपा(पि)तानि	पटिभोगाये	—— नं (।)
J—	खानापितानि	लुखानि	च	——	—	
S—	खनपित	—		—	प्रतिभोगये	पशुमनुशनं (।)
M—	—पित	(कु)	—	—तनि	(प)टिभोगये	पशुमनुशन (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

सर्वत्र विजिते देवाना प्रियस्य (देवप्रियस्य) प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, ये च अन्ताः—यथा चोडाः, पाण्ड्याः, सत्यपुत्र·, केरलपुत्रः, ताम्रपर्णी (अन्यत्र—आ ताम्रपर्ण्याः), अन्तियोक· नाम यवनराज·, ये च अन्ये तस्य अन्तियोकस्य सामन्ताः राजान·—सर्वत्र देवाना प्रियस्य (देवप्रियस्य) राज्ञः द्वे चिकित्से कृते— मनुष्य-चिकित्सा पशुचिकित्सा च। औषधानि मनुष्योपगानि च पशूपगानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्व्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च। एव एव मूलानि च फलानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च। मार्गेषु वृक्षा रोपिता उदपानानि च खानितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम्।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Everywhere in the dominion of King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods and also with regard to all (his) bordering or neighbouring regions (and princes), such as the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satyaputra (king), the Keralaputra

(prince), (ruling) as far as the Tāmraparnī (river), the Ionian (Greek) King Antiochos and also those (other) kings who are neighbours (or feudatories) of that Antiochos— everywhere two kinds of medical attendance were made (or instituted) by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods—(namely) medical attendance to men and medical attendance to beasts. Medicinal herbs useful for men and those for beasts, wherever they do not exist, have been caused to be imported and planted. Likewise roots and fruits (fruit-trees), wherever they do not exist, were caused to be imported and planted everywhere. On the roads trees were caused to be planted and wells were caused to be dug for the enjoyment of beasts and of men.

WORD NOTES

(1) विजितसि—Skt. विजिते cf. विजितम्हि G, विजिते S. This word विजित is used in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature in the sense of a kingdom or dominion. cf. महावस्तु III 7 ("नाशेथ विजिता मम") ('Make them flee away from my kingdom') and *ibid III* 174 ("स्वविजितातो")

(2) अंता—Skt. अन्ता· वा अन्त्या· i.e., प्रत्यन्त kingdoms or neighbouring princes. cf. पचंतेसु of G.

(3) चोडा—The kingdom of the Cholas (the Coromondel coast i.e., Tanjore—Trichinopoly area).

(4) पंडिया—cf. पाडा of G, पंडिय of S and M. The kingdom of the Pāndyas (roughly the Madura Tinnevelly area)

(5) सातियपुतो—cf. सतियपुतो of G, सतियपुत्र of S and M and सतियपुते of J. The kingdom of Satyaputra (North Malabar, bordering on Mysore, Coimbatore and Coorg).

(6) केतलपुतो—cf. केतलपुतो of G, केरलपुत्र of S and M (The Chera region in South Malabar)

(7) तंबपंनि—cf. तंबपंणी of G—The reference is most probably to the river Tāmraparnī in Tinnevelly, and not to Ceylon as taken by some scholars. The ports at the mouth of this river carried on trade in pearls, gems and conch-shells. In Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II. 11) we have reference to pearls originated at ताम्रपर्णी (river), called ताम्रपर्णिक and those at Pāṇḍyavāta called पाण्ड्यवाटक.

(8) अंतियोगे—cf. अंतियको of G, अंतियोक of S and अंतियोके of M and J. The Greek (Yona) King Antiochos II of Syria in western Asia (c. 261—246 B. C.).

(9) सामंता—cf. समीपं of G, समंत of S and M. Neighbouring or border kings, or feudatory princes (neighbours of Antiochos).

(10) चिकिसका—cf. चिकीछ of G, चिकिस of S and M and चिकिसा of J. Here चिकित्सा means medical attendance i e., medical arrangements for treating diseases of men and beasts and not necessarily a hospital (which is a place where patients are treated).

(11) अतता—Skt. यत्र यत्र. cf यत यत of G and यत्र यत्र of S and M and also अतत of D and J (=अत अत i e., यत्र यत्र).

(12) लुखानि—Skt. वृत्ता , Pali रुक्खा cf. व्रछा of G, रुछ of M

EDICT III (TEXT)

G—	देवानं	पि(प्रि)यो	पियदसि	राजा	एवं	आह (:)	द्वादसवासाभि—
K—	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	(हे)वं	आहा (:)	(7)दुवाडसवसाभि—
D—	देवानं	पिये	पियद(सि)	(10)लाजा	हेवं	आहा (:)	(दुवा)दसवसाभि—
J—	देवान	पिये	पियदसी	लाजा	हेवं	आहा (:)	दुवदसवसाभि—
S—	देवानं	प्रियो	प्रियद्रशि	रज	—	अह ति (:)	(वद)यवषभि—
M—	(दे)वन	प्रिये	(प्रि)यद्रशि	रज	एव	अह (:)	दुव(ड)शवषभि—

G—	सितेन	मया	इदं	आञपितं	(।)	सर्वत	विजिते	युता	च
K—	सितेन	मे	इयं	आनपयिते	(।)	सवता	विजितसि	मम	युता
D—	सितेन	मे	इ(य)ं	आ(नप)-इ-	(।)	(त	वि)जितसि	मे	यु(ता)
J—	सितेन	मे	इ(य)ं	(आ) —	(।)	—	—	—	—
S—	सितेन	—		—	(।)	सव(6)	विजिते		युत
M—	सेतेन	अयं		अणपयि(ते)	(।)	सब्रत्र	विजितसि	मे	-त

G—	राजूके	च	प्रादेसिके	च	पंचसु	पंचसु	वासेसु
K—	लजुके		पादेसिके		पचसु	पंचसु	वसेसु
D—	ल(जु)के	(च)	—इ(के)		(10) पंचसु	पंचसु	वसेसु
J—	—	च	पा(दे)सिके	च	(11) पंच(सु)	पंचसु	वसेसु
S—	रजुको		प्रदेशि(के)		प(ं च)सु	प(ं च)षु	वषेषु
M—	रजु		(प्र)देशिके		—चसु	पं(चषु)	वषेषु

G—	अनुसं(3)यानं	नियातु	एतायेव	अथाय	
K—	अनु(स)यानं	निखमंतु	एतायेवा	अथाये	
D—	अनुसयानं	निखमाव्		अथा	अंनाये
J—	अनुसयानं	निखमाव्		अथा	अंनाये
S—	अनुसंयनं	निक्रमतु	एतिस		
M—	अनुसंयनं	निक्रमंतु	एतयेवं	अथ्ये	

G—		इमाय	धंमानुसस्तिय	यथा
K—		इमा(ये)	धंमनुसथिया	यथा
D—	(पि) कं(म)ने हेवं	इमाये	(ध) मानुथिये	
J—	पि कंमने	—	—	—
S—	वो करण	इमिस	ध्रमनुशस्ति	यथ
M—		इमये	ध्रमनुशस्तिये	य-अं

G—	आञा (3) य	पि	कंमाय	(।)	साधु	मातरि च पितरि	च	सुर्सु(स्र)सा
K—	अंनाये	पि	कंमाये	(।)	साधु	(8)मातापितिसु		सुसुसा
D—					(सा)धु	मातापि(ति)सु		—(सुसूसा)
J—					—	————		—सा
S—	अञये	पि	क्रमये	(।)	सधु	मतपितुषु		सुश्रुष
M—	अणये	पि	क्रमणो	(।)	स—	मातापि—षु		सुश्रु(ष)

G—	मितासंस्तुत-	ञातीनं	बाम्हण-	(5) समणानं	
K—	मितसंथुत-	ञातिक्यानं	चा बंभन-	समनानं	चा
D—	—	(11) नातिसु	च बंभन-	समनेहि	
J—	मितसंथुतेस	(12) नातिसु	च बंभन-	समनेहि	
S—	मि(त्र)सं(स्तु)त—	ञ(ति)कनं	ब्रमण-	(श्र)मण(नं)	
M—	(मि)त्रसस्तुत-	(11) ञतिकनं	च ब्र(म)ण-	श्रमणनं	

G—	साधु	दानं	प्राणानं	साधु अनारंभो		अपव्ययता
K—	साधु	दाने	पाणानं	अनालंभे	साधु	अपवियाता
D—	साधु	दाने	जीवेसु	अनालम्भे	साधु	अपवियति
J—	साधु	दाने	जीवेसु	अनालंभे	साधु	—
S—	स—		प्र—	—	—	(7)अपवयत
M—	सधु	दने	प्रणान	अ—रमे	सधु	अप(व)यत

G—	अपभाडता	साधु (।)	(6) परिसा	पि		युते	आजपयिसति
K—	अपभंडता	साधु (।)	पलिसा	पि	च	युता(नि)	गननसि
D—	(अ)पभ(ं)डत	साधु (।)	पलिसा	पि	च		—न(सि)
J—	—	—	—			—	—
S—	अपभ(ं)डत	सधु (।)	परि—	पि		युत(नि	ग) णनसि
M—	अपभड(त)	सधु (।)	परिष	पि	च	युतानि	गणनसि

G—		गणनायं	हेतुतो	च	ब्यंजनतो	च	(।)
K—		अनपयिसंति	हेतुवता	चा	वियंजन(ते)	च	(।)
D—	(यु)ता(नि)	आनपयि(सति)	—तुते	च	वियं(ज)		
J—	—	— (13)	हेतुते	च	वियंजनते	च	(।)
S—		अणपेशंति	हेतु(तो)	च	वजनतो	च	(।)
M—		(अण)पयिशति	हेतु(ते)	च	विय( )नते	च	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

देवाना प्रिय· (देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह·—द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इदं आज्ञापितम्। सर्व्वत्र विजिते मम युक्ता· रज्जुका· (च) प्रादेशिकाः (च) पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानं निष्क्रामन्तु एतस्मैं एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्म्मानुशिष्टये वा (अनुशिष्ट्यै वा) यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्म्मणे। "साधुः मातापित्रोः शुश्रूषा ज्ञातिकाना (०केभ्यः) च ब्राह्मण-श्रमणाना (०नाभ्या) च साधु दानं प्राणाना अनालम्भः साधु·, अल्पव्ययता अल्पभाण्डता साधुः। परिषद (अन्यत्र परिषत्) अपि च युक्तान् गणने (गणनाया G) आज्ञापयिष्यन्ति (अन्यत्र आज्ञापयिष्यति) हेतुत· च व्यञ्जनत· च।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods This (i.e., the following thing) has been commanded by me when I was consecrated twelve years—"Everywhere in my dominion the *Yuktas* (i e., the officers of the lower rank), the Rajjukas (the Highest Executive officers) and the Prādeśikas (the Magistrates who try criminal cases) should go out on tour (of inspection) every five years for this special purpose—the inculcation of, (or instruction of) the Law of piety, just as well as for their other duties (or business) (They should preach) 'That obedience (lit. hearkening) to father and mother is an excellent thing ; that liberality (charity) to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to Brahmaṇas and Śramaṇas (Buddhist ascetics) is an excellent thing; that abstention from slaughter of living creatures (for sacrifice) is also an excellent thing; and that

the tendency towards smaller expenses (i.e., the tendency to be frugal or economical) and towards smaller accumulation (or storage) of goods and (properties) is (also) an excellent thing' The assembly (of followers of the religious instructions inculcated by the touring officers) will direct the *Yukta* officers in the matter of calculation (of all expenses of the touring officials) according to the spirit and text (of the royal rules or decrees).

WORD NOTES

(1) विजितसि—*Vide ante.*

(2) युता, युतानि—Skt. युक्त । In Kautilya's अर्थशास्त्र, युक्त's are certain officials of not a very high order who are employed in all departments, with other officials called उपयुक्त's and they both have under them पुरुष's (lower class employees). Vide अर्थशास्त्र II. 5 where occur the words "सर्व्वाधिकरणेषु युक्तोपयुक्त-तत्पुरुषाणां ·· ··दण्डाः" । There is a chapter (II 8) in it which is named "समुदयस्य युक्तापहृतस्य प्रत्यानयनम्" (Realisation of Government money or State-revenue embezzled by the *Yuktas*). Kauṭilya was fully aware of the greedy character of such officers (of the Revenue Department) and he attacks it in very strong terms. "अपि शक्या गतिर्ज्ञातुं पतता खे पतत्रिणाम् । न तु प्रच्छन्नभावाना युक्ताना चरता गतिः" (II 9) ॥ Difficult it is, he says, to ascertain the (stealing) movement of the युक्त-officers with hidden purpose, when they work. Hence Aśoka also asks in the last sentence of this edict that the assembly (of hearers) should direct the युक्त's of the Accountancy Department to calculate properly (the expenses incurred by the Higher officials in the संयान) according to the spirit and letters of the rules and regulations (of Government).

(3) लजुके—cf. राजूके of G. and रजुक of S. Vide note on the word under P.-E. IV. They seem to have been the highest executive officers of State.

(4) पादेसिके—cf. प्रादेसिके of G and प्रदेशिके of S and M. Skt. प्रादेशिकाः derived from प्र+आ+दिश्. The root दिश् means to ordain, indicate, direct, decide, determine or order. It is not here to be taken as connected with प्रदेश, the other meaning of which is a region or province or district. It is in the present context to be taken to mean 'those

who pronounce judgment after decision of a legal case'. Hence it is to be equated with the प्रदेष्टृ's (derived also from प्र+दिश्) of Kautilya who are mentioned in the कण्टकशोधन Book as Magistrates who try and determine criminal cases (of theft etc.). Pali दिस् also carries the sense—'to preach or expound'—in words like देशिक and आदेशिक. So the word प्रादेशिका· here should not be translated, as has been done by some scholars, as 'provincial administrators'.

(5) अनुसयानं—cf. अनुसंयानं of G, अनुसंयन of S and M Skt अनुसंयानं i.e , during (their) tour or travelling for inspection

(6) धमनुसथिया—cf धंमानुसस्टिय of G, ध्रमनुशस्ति of S, ध्रमनुशस्तिये of M. अनुसथि is from अनु+शास् (i.e , अनुशासनं), to instruct, direct, advice. Both अनुशास्ति and अनुशिष्टि are possible noun forms. The form अनुशिष्टि meaning 'instruction, order or teaching' appears more preferable in translation.

(7) पलिसा—cf. परिसा of G. and परिष of M. Skt. परिषत्. According to some scholars the word probably refers to the मन्त्रिपरिषत् of Kautilya. But this परिषत्, consisting of मन्त्रिन्'s and other अमात्य's, is an advisory body to counsel the king in political and other important State matters. This council should not be asked in a public edict to direct the *Yukta* officers to keep proper accounts (गणना) in a particular manner. Buddhist-Sanskrit and Pali literature, however, has constant references to the words परिषा and परिसा respectively (=Skt. परिषत्) in the sense of an assembly or multitude of persons meeting together to hear a sermon preached by seers and Buddhas. The महावस्तु, for instance, refers to परिषा (in I. 158 and III 53). The passages are "विस्तरेण भो जिनपुत्र पंच चतूणि परिकीर्तय अवहितश्रोता देवमनुष्यसंकुला **परिषा** सर्व्वभूतगणा इति" and "किन्ति मैं चतुहि **परिषाहि** भविष्यति अधिमात्रं प्रेम्न' च गौरव' च ह्री चापत्रप्यं च भावना च प्रत्युपस्थिता ति". Here परिषा is an assembly of followers of the Buddhist religion. In the Jātaka and other stories of Buddhism we meet with such Pali words and expressions as "सुविनीता किरस्स परिसा", "परिसं आमन्तेसि", "भगवा महतिया परिसाय परिवुतो", "सा देसना सम्पत्तपरिसाय सात्थिका अहोसि", "परिसायं निसिदित्वा", "परिस-मज्झे ठत्वा" etc. Kālidāsa writes in the Śakuntalā-

drama "अभिरूपमूयिष्ठा परिषदियम्" referring to the audience. The circle or group of hearers of the edict i.e, the audience is what is meant in the present context. The assembly of persons hearing the religious exhortations and teachings of the touring State-officers may ask the *Yukta*-officers of the Department of Accountancy to calculate (गणना) the expenses incurred by them during their tours in accordance with the spirit and letter of the royal rules and regulations.

(8) गणनसि—cf. गणनायं of G, and गणनसि of M. Skt गणने or गणनाया i.e., the matter of calculation (of expenses of State money). The अर्थशास्त्र of Kauṭilya has a big Chapter (II. 7) called अक्षपटले गाणनिक्याधिकार which treats of Accountancy regarding State revenue

(9) हेतुवता—cf. G. and S. हेतुतो, हेतुते M and J Skt. हेतुत॰, having an eye to the spirit or principle of the गणना-department rules and regulations.

(10) वियंजनते—cf. व्यंजनतो of G, वञनतो of S Skt व्यञ्जनत॰, having an eye to the words or text of the गणना-department rules and regulations.

EDICT IV (TEXT)

G—	अतिकातं	अंतरं	बहूनि	वाससतानि	वढितो	एव
K—	अतिकंतं	अंतलं	बहुनि	वससतानि	व(धि)ते	व
D—	अतिकं(त)ं	अंतलं	बहूनि	वससतानि	वढिते	व
J—	अ(ति)कंतं	अंतलं	बहूनि	वससतानि	वढिते	व
S—	अतिक्रतं	अंतरं	बहुनि	वषशतनि	वढितो	वो
M—	आतक्रतं	अ(ं)त(रं)	बहुनि	वषश(त)नि	वढिते	वं

G—	प्राणारंभो	विहिंसा	च	भूतान	आतीसु	(2) असंप(्र)तिपती
K—	पानालंभे	विहिसा	चा	भूतानं	नातिनं	असंपटिपति
D—	पानाल(ं)भे	विहिसा	च	भूतानं	नातिसु	असं(प)टिपति
J—	पानालंभे	—	—	—	—	—
S—	प्रणरंभो	विहिस	च	भुतनं	ञतिन	(अस)ंपटिपति
M—	प्रण(रंभे)	वि(हि)स	च	भुतनं	ञतिन	असपटिपति

ROCK EDICT IV

G—	वा(ब्रा)म्हणसं(स्र)मणानं	असंप(प्र)तीपती	(।)		त	अज	देवानं	पि(प्रि)यस
K—	समनबंभनानं	असंपटिपति	(।)		से	अज	देवानं	पियसा
D—	स(म)नबाभ(नें)सु	अ(स)ंपटिपति	(।)	(13)	से	अज	देवानं	पियस
J—	—	—	(।)	(14)	से	अज	देवानं	पियस
S—	श्रमण(ब्र)मणनं	(असंप्रटि)पति	(।)		(सो	अज	देवनं)	प्रियस
M—	श्रमणब्रमणनं	असंप(टि)पति	(।)	(13)	से	अज	देवन	प्रियस

G—	पि(प्रि)यदसिनो	राञो	(3) धंमचरणेन	भेरीघोसो	अहो
K—	पियदसिने	लाजिने	धंमचलनेना	भेलिघोसो	अहो
D—	(पिय)दसि(ने)	(ला)जि(ने)	(ध)ंमचलनेन	भेलिघो(स)ं	अ(हो)
J—	पियदसिने	लाजिने	धंमचलनेन	भेल् —	—
S—	(प्रि)य(द्रशिस	रञो)	(8) ध्रमचरणेन	भेरि(घो)ष	अहो
M—	प्रियद्रशिने	र-ने	ध्रम(च)रणेन	भेरिघोषे	अहो

G—	धंमघोसो	विमान—	दसणा	च	हस्तिदसणा	च
K—	धंमघोसे	विमन—	दसना		(ह)थिनि	
D—	धंम(घो)सं	विमान—	दसनं		ह(थी)नि	
J—	—	—	—		—	
S—	ध्रमघोष	विमननं	द्रशनं		(ह)स्तिनो	
M—	ध्रमघोषे	विमन—	द्रशन		हस्तिने	

G—	(4)अगिखंधानि	च	अञानि	च	दिव्यानि	रूपानि	दसयित्पा
K—	अगिकंधानि		अंनानि	च	दिव्यानि	लुपानि	दसयितु
D—	(अ)गि(कं)धानि		अंनानि	च	(दि)वि(या)नि	(14)लूपा(नि)	द(स)यितु
J—	—		—	—	(16)दिवियानि	लूपानि	दसयितु
S—	जोतिकंधनि		अञनि	च	दिवनि	रुपनि	द्रशयितु
M—	अगिकंधनि		अञ(नि	च)	दिवनि	रुपनि	द्रशेति

G—	जनं	(।)	यारिसे	वहूहि	वाससतेहि	(5) न	भूतपुवे
K—	जनस	(।)	आदि(से)	वहुहि	वस(स)तेहि	ना	हुतपुलुवे
D—	मुनिसानं	(।)	आ(दि)से	(व)हूहि	व(स)(सते)हि	नो	हूतपुलुवे
J—	मुनिसानं	(।)	आदिसे	वहूहि	वससते	—	—
S—	जनस	(।)	यदिश(ं)	वहुहि	वषशतेहि	न	भुतप्रुवे
M—	जनस	(।)	अदिशे	वहुहि	(व)ष(शतेहि	न	हु)तप्रुवे

G—	तारिसे	अज	वढिते	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)यस	पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो	रञो
K—	तादिसे	अजा	वढिते	देवानं	पियसा	पियदसिने	लाजिने
D—	तादिसे	अज	वढि-	(दे)वानं	पि(य)स	पि(यद)सिने	लाजिने
J—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S—	तदिशे	अज	वढिते	देवनं	प्रियस	प्रियद्शिस	रञो
M—	तदिशे	(अज)	वढिते	(दे)वन	प्रियस	प्रियद्रशिने	रजिने

G—	धंमानुसस्टिया	अनारं (6)भो	प(प्रा)णानं	अविहीसा	भूतानं
K—	धंमनुसथिये	अनालंभे	पानानं	अविहिसा	भुतानं
D—	धं(मा)नुसथिया (15)	(अना)लंभे	पानानं	अविहिसा	भूतान
J—	धंमा(नु)सथिया	अनालंभे	पानानं	अविहिसा	भूतानं
S—	ध्रंमनुशस्तिय	अनरं(भो)	प्र(णनं)	अविहिस	भुतनं
M—	ध्रमनुशस्तिय	अनरमे	प्रणनं	अविहिस	भुतन

G—	ञातीनं	संपटिपती	व(ब्र)ह्मणसमणानं	संपटिपती
K—	नाति(सु) (11)	संपटिपति	बंभण(स)मनानं	संपटिपति
D—	नातिसु	संपटिप(ति)	-मनब(ं) (भ)नेसु	संपटिपति
J—	नातिसु	(संप)—	—	—
S—	ञतिनं	स(ं)प्रटिपति	ब्रमण)-(9)श्रमणनं	संपटिपति
M—	ञतिन (15)	संपटिपति	ब(मण)-श्रमणन(ं)	संपटिपति

G—	मातरि पितरि (7)	सुसु(स्रू)सा	थैर-	सुसु(स्रु)सा	(।)	एस	अञे	च
K—	मातापितिसु	सुसुसा (।)				एस चा	अंने	चा
D—	मातिपितु	सुसुसा	वु(ढ)-	सुसुसा	(।)	एस	अंने	च
J—	—	—		—	(।)	(18)एस	अंने	च
S—	मतपितुषु		(वुढनं)	सुश्रुष	(।)	ए(त)	अञ	च
M—	मतुपितुषु	सुश्रुष वुध्रन		सुश्रुष	(।)	एषे	अजे	च

G—	बहुविधे	धंमचरणे	वढिते (,)	वढयिसति	चेव
K—	बहुविधे	धंमचल(ने)	वधिते (,)	वधियिसति	चेवा
D—	ब(हु)विधे	(16) (ध)ंमचलने	वढिते (,)	वढयि(स)ति	चेव
J—	बहुविधे	धंमचलने	वढिते (,)	व(ढयि) —	—
S—	बहुविध(ं)	ध्रमचरणं	वढितं (,)	वढिशति	चयो
M—	बहुविधे	ध्रमचरणे	वध्रिते (,)	वध्रयिशति	येव

G—	देवानं	पि(प्रि)यो (8)	पि(प्रि)यदसि	राजा	धम(च)रणं	इदं	(।)
K—	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	इमं धंमचलन		(।)
D—	(दे)वानं	पिये	पिय(द)सी	ला(जा)	धंमचलनं	इमं	(।)
J—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(।)
S—	देवनं	प्रियम	प्रियद्रशिस	रञो	ध्रमचरणो	इम—	(।)
M—	देवन	प्रिये (16)	प्रियद्रशि	रज	ध्रमचरण	इम	

G—	पुतां(त्रा)	च	पोतां(त्रा)	च	प(प्र)पोतां(त्रा)	च	देवानं	पि(प्रि)यस	
K—	पुता `	च	कं नताले	च	प(नाति)क्या	चा	देवानं	पियसा	
D—	पुता पि	(च)	नति		पन(ति) —	च	देवानं	पियस	
J—	—		—		—		—	—	(19)
S—	पुत्र पि	च	कु नतरो	च	प्रनतिक	च	देवनं	प्रियस	
M—	पुत्र पि	च	कु नतरे	च	पणतिक		देवनं	प्रियस	

G—	पि(प्रि)यदसिनो	राञो	(9)	वधयिसंति	इदं	धंमचरणं
K—	पियदसिने	लाजिने	(12)	पवढयिसंति	चे(व)	धंमचलनं
D—	पियदसिने	ला(जि)ने	(17)	पवढयिसंति	येव	धंमचलनं
J—	पियदसिने	लाजिने		पव(ढयिसंति)	(ये)व	धंमच—
S—	प्रियद्रशिस	र(ञो)	व(ढे)संति			—म(चरणं)
M—	प्रियद्रशिने	रजिने		पवढयिशंति		ध्रमचरण

G—		आव	संवटकपा	धंमम्हि	सीलम्हि		
K—	इ(म)ं	आव—	कपं	धंमसि	सिलसि	चा	
D—	(इ)मं	आ—	क(प)ं	धंम(सि)	(सी)लसि	च	
J—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S—	इमं	अव	कपं	ध्रमे	शि(ले	च)	(10)
M—	इमं	अव	कपं	ध्रमे	शिले	(च)	(17)

G—	तिसटंतो	धंमं	अनुसासिमंति	(।) (10)	एस	हि	सेसटे
K—	(चि)ठि(तु)	धंमं	अनुसासिसंति	(।)	एसे	हि	सेठे
D—	(चिठि)तु	ध(ं)(म)ं	अनु(सा)मिसंति	(।)	एस	(हि)	से(थे)
J—	—	—	—		—	—	—
S—	तिस्तितु	ध्रमं	अनुशशिशंति	(।)	एत	(हि	स्रे)ठ(ं)
M—	(ति)स्तितु	(ध्रमं)	अनुशशिश(ं)ति	(।)	एषे	हि	स्रे(ठे)

G—	कंमे	य	धंमानुसासनं	(।)	धंमचरणे	पि
K—	कंमं	अं	धंमानुसासनं	(।)	धंमचलने	पि चा
D—	कंमे	या	धंमनुसासना	(।)	धंमचलने	पि चु (18)
J—	—	—	—	(20)	धंमचलने	पि चु
S—	(क)मं	य(ं)	ध्र(म)नुशशनं	(।)	(ध्रम)चरणं	पि च
M		अं	ध्रमनु(श)शन	(।)	ध्रमचरणे	पि च

G—	न भवति	असीलस	(।)	त इमम्हि	अथम्हि (11)	वधी च	अहीनी च
K—	नो होति	असिलसा	(।)	से इमसा	अथसा	वधि	अहिनि चा
D—	नो होति	असीलस	(।)	से इमस	अठस	वु(ढी)	अहीनि च
J—	नो होति	—		— —	—	—	—
S—	न भोति	अशिलस	(।)	सो इमिस	अथ्रस	वढि	अहिनि च
M—	न होति	अशिलस	(।)	से इमस	अथ्रस	वध्रि	अहिनि च

G—	साधु (।)	एताय	अथाय	इदं	लेखापितं ()	इमस	अथस
K—	साधु (।)	एताये	अथाये	इ(य)ं	लिखिते () (13)	इमसा	अथसा
D—	साधु (।)	एताये	—	(इ)यं	लिखिते ()	इमस	अठस
J—	—	—		—	—	—	—
S—	सधु (।)	एतये	अठये	इम(ं)	दिपिस्त ()	इमिस	अठस
M—	सधु (।)	एतये (18)	अथ्रये	इ(मं)	लिखिते (·)	एतस	अ-स

G—	वधि	युजंतु	हीनि च (12)	मा	लोचेतव्या	(।)	द्वादस-
K—	वधि	युजंतु	हिनि च	मा	अलोचयिसु	(।)	दुवाडस-
D—	वढी	युजंतू	हीनि च	मा	अलोचयि(सु)	(19)	दुवादस-
J—	—	— (21)	(ही)नि च	मा	आलोच(यि)—		—
S—	वढि	युजंतु	हिनि च	म	लोच(षु)	(11)	ब(दय)-
M—	वध्र	युजंतु	हिनि च	म	अनु(लो)चयिसु	(।)	दुवदश-

G—	वासाभिसितेन	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)येन	पिं(प्रि)यदसिना	राञा
K—	वसाभिसितेना	देवानं	पियेना	पियदसिना	लाजिना
D—	वसानि अभिसितस	देबा(न)ं	पि(य)स	पियदसिने	लाजिने
J—	—	—	—	—	—
S—	वष(भि)सितेन	देवनं	प्रियेन	प्रियदशिन	रञा
M—	वषभिसितेन	देवन	प्रियेन	प्रियद्रशिन	रजिन

G—	इदं	लेखापितं	(।)
K—		लेखितं	(।)
D—	(य)ं	लिखिते	(।)
J—	—	—	
S—	(इ)दं	दिप(पि)तं	(।)
M—	इयं	लिखपिते	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं बहूनि वर्षशतानि वर्द्धित एव प्राणालम्भ विहिंसा च भूताना ज्ञातीना असंप्रतिपत्ति· श्रमणब्राह्मणानां असंप्रतिपत्तिः। तत् अद्य देवाना प्रियस्य (देवप्रियस्य) प्रियदर्शिन राज्ञ· धर्म्मचरणेन भेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्म्मघोष·। विमानदर्शनानि हस्तिनः अग्निस्कन्धान् अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनस्य (जनाय इत्यर्थः) यादृशः बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्व्व· तादृशः अद्य वर्द्धित· देवाना प्रियस्य (देवप्रियस्य) राज्ञः धर्म्मानुशिष्ट्या अनालम्भः प्राणानां अविहिंसा भूताना ज्ञातिषु सम्प्रतिपत्ति ब्राह्मणश्रमणानां सम्प्रतिपत्तिः मातापित्रो· शुश्रूषा। एतत् च अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्म्मचरणं वर्द्धितम्। वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवाना प्रिय· (देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा इदं धर्म्मचरणम्। पुत्रा· च के नप्तारः च प्रनप्तार च देवानां प्रियस्य (देवप्रियस्य) प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञ प्रवर्द्धयिष्यन्ति च एव धर्म्मचरणं इदं यावत्कल्पं, धर्म्मे शीले च स्थित्वा धर्म्मं अनुशासिष्यन्ति। एतत् हि श्रेष्ठं कर्म्म यत् धर्म्मानुशासनम्। धर्म्मचरणं अपि च न भवति अशीलस्य। तत् अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः अहानिः च साधु·। एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लिखितं—अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः युञ्जन्तु हानिः च मा (न) आरोचयेयु·। द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन देवानां प्रियेण (देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लिखितम्।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

A long interval (of time) has elapsed, for many hundred years, sacrificial slaughter of lives, injury to creatures, disregard towards relatives and disregard (or discourtesy) towards Brāhmanas and *Śramanas* (Buddhist ascetics) have indeed increased. So now through the practice of the Law of Piety by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, the sound of the proclamation of the Law has become the (real) sound of the drum. As has not happened for many hundred years, now by the ordinance (or inculcation) of the Law of Piety made by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, have now increased abstention from sacrificial slaughter of lives, avoidance of injury to creatures, respect (or proper behaviour) towards relatives, respect towards Brāhmaṇas and *Śramaṇas* and

obedience (or hearkening) to father and mother (and also obedience to elders—G. D. S. M.), by exhibiting to people spectacles of heavenly palaces, elephants, display of fire brands and other kinds of representations (or images). This and many other kinds of practices of the Law of piety have increased. King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, will also cause this practice of the Law of piety to increase. And the sons, grand-sons and great-grand-sons of King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, will cause the practice of the Law of piety to increase until the end of the universe (i.e., until the universal destruction of all creations, यावत्संवर्तकल्प' G.) and will inculcate the Law of piety by standing (firm) in the Law of piety and in (the practice of) the code of morality. For, that which is called the inculcation or ordinance for the Law of piety is (indeed) the best of deeds, and the practice of the Law of piety is not for the immoral man. So the increase of this matter and want of its decrease are good things. For this purpose has this been written, so that they (all) may apply themselves to the increase of this matter and not to speak of their decrease (or diminution). (This) has been caused to be written by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, when he had been consecrated twelve years.

WORD NOTES

(1) विहिसा—Skt. विहिंसा, injury or hurting (to animals).

(2) भेलिघोसे—Skt. भेरीघोष: the sound of a drum (for making any royal proclamation), not necessarily the sound of a war-drum in the present context.

(3) अहो—From Pali होति (Skt. भवति), to turn into. Pali aorist forms are अहु and अहू. So the word represents Skt. अभूत् (लुङ्). It does not seem to be an interjection to mean 'oh', or 'lo', as taken by some scholars.

(4) धंमघोसे—धर्म्मघोष: is the sound of the proclamation of *Dhamma* i.e., announcement of the preaching of religious tenets.

(5) विमानदसना—Shows of heavenly palaces (containing the images of gods) in processions.

(6) अगिकंधानि—cf. अगिखंदानि of G, जोतिकधानि (lines of fire-brands) of S and अगिकंधनि of M. According to some the word means 'display of fire-works, bonfires' and 'masses of hell-fire'. Probably it means rows of fire-brands or other illuminations forming spectacles in Buddhist processions of images of gods. For अग्गिक्खन्धा vide *Therīgāthā* (P. 115 of P.T.S.)

(7) लुपानि—Skt. रूपाणि. cf. रूपानि of G, रुपनि of S and M and लूपानि of D and J. This word means representations of figures or images.

(8) दसयितु—A gerund with old affix तून i.e., Skt. दर्शयित्वा. cf. दसयित्पा of G, द्रशयितु S.

(9) आवकपं—Skt. यावत्कल्पं, i e., till the end of the universe. cf. अवकपं S and M and आकपं D, and आवसंवटकपा G (=यावत् संवर्त्तकल्पं i.e., till universal destruction).

(10) चिठितु—Skt. स्थित्वा cf. तिस्तिति S and तिस्तितु M and तिष्टंतो G (=तिष्ठन्त).

(11) अहिनि—Skt. अहानिः, want of decrease or diminution. cf. अहीनी G

(12) अलोचयिसु—cf. लोचेतय्वा of G, लोचेसु S and अनुलोचयिसु M. Pali आरोचेति means 'to tell, inform, announce' and also 'to explain, speak to, say to'. The word has nothing to do with 'आलोचना' in the sense of discussion or beholding. Cf. the double causative form आरोचापेति in पालि which means 'to cause to be told or announced, to make known, to publish'.

EDICT V (TEXT)

G—	(1) देवानं	पिं(प्रि)यो	पियदसि	राजा	एवं	आह	(·)	कलाणं
K—	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा		अहा	(:)	कयाने
D—	(20) —(वा)नं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(:)	कयाने
J—	(22) देवा(नं)	पिये	पियद—	—	—	—		—
S—	देवन	प्रियो	प्रियद्रशि	रय	एवं	अह ति	(:)	क(लणं)
M—	(19) (देवनं)	प्रिये	प्रियद्रशि	रज	एवं	अह	(:)	कलणं

G—	दुकरं	(।)	ये अ—	कलाणेस	सो	दुकरं	करोति	(।)
K—	दुकले	(।)	ए आदिक(ले)	क(या)नस	से	दुकलं	कलेति	(।)
D—	दुकले	(।)	ए —	कयानस	से	दुकलं	कलेति	(।)
J—	...	(।)	—	—	—	—	—	
S—	(दु)करं	(।)	यो अ—रो	क(ल)णस	सो	दुकरं	करोति	(।)
M—	दुकरं	(।)	ये आदिकरे	कयणस	से	दुकरं	करोति	(।)

G—	(2) त	मया	बहु	कलाणं	कतं	(।)	त	मम	पुता	च
K—	से	ममया	बहु	कयाने	कटे	(।)	(ता	म)म	(पु)ता	चा
D—	से	मे	(बहु)के	कयाने	कटे	(।)	तं	ये मे	(पुता)	व
J—	—		—	—	—		—		—	—
S—	सो	मय	बहु	कलं	किटं	(।)	तं	म(ह)	पुत्र	च
M—	तं	मय	बहु	कयणे	कटे	(।)	तं	म(अ)	पुत्र	(च)

G—		पोता	च		परं	च	तेन	य	मे	अपचं	
K—		नताले	(चा)	(14)	पलं	(चा)	ते(हि	ये)		अपतिये	मे
D—	(21)	(नति व)			…'	च	(तेन)	(ये)		अपतिये	मे
J—	(23)	(न ति) व			पलं	च	ते	—		—	—
S—		नतरो	च		परं	च	(ते) (न)	(य)	मे	अपच	(अ)छंति
M—	(20)	नतरे			परं	च	तेन	ये		अपतिये	मे

G—	आव	संवटकपा			अनुवतिसरे	तथा (3)	सो	सुकतं
K—	आव	कपं	तथा		अनुवटिसंति		से	सुकटं
D—	आव	कपं	तथा		अनुवतिसंति		से	(सुक)टं
J—	—	—	—		—	—		—
S—	अव	कपं	तयं	ये	अ(नु)वतिशंति		ते	सुकिटं
M—	अव	-पं	तथं		अनुवतिशति		से	सुकट

G—	कासति	(।)	यो	तु	एत	देसं	पि	हापेसति	सो	दुकतं
K—	कछंति	(।)	ए चु		हेता	देसं	पि	(हा)प(यि)संति	से	दुकटं
D—	कछंति	(।)	ए		(हे)त	देसं	पि	हापयिसति	से	(दु)कटं
J	—	(।)	— —			—		—	—	—
S—	कषंति	(।)	यो चु		अतो	(—कं	पि	हपेशति)	सो	(दु)कटं
M—	कषति	(।)	ये चु		अत्र	देश	पि	हपेशति	से	दुकट

G—	कासति	(।)	सुकरं	हि	पापं	(।)				अतिकातं
K—	कछति	(।)	पापे	हि	नाम		सुपदालये	(।)	से	अतिकंतं
D—	क(छ)ति	(।)	पा(पे)	हि	(नाम)	(22)	सु(प)दलिये	(।)	से	अ(तिक)ंतं
J—	—	(।)	—	—		(24)	(सु)पदाल(ये)	(।)	से	अ —
S—	कषति	(।)	पपं	हि			सुकरं	(।)	सो	अति(कं)तं
M—	कषति	(।)	पपे	हि	नम		सुपदरे (व)		से	अतिक्रतं

G—	अंतरं	(4)	न	भूतप्रुर्व	धंममहामाता	नाम	(।)	त	मया
K—	अंतलं		नो	हुतपुलुवा	धंममहामाता	नाम	(।)		
D—	अंतलं		नो	हुतपुलुवा	धंममहामाता	नाम	(।)		से
J—	—		—	—	—	—			—
S—	अंतरं		न	(भु)तप्रुव	ध्रममहमत्र	नम	(।)		सो
M—	अंतरं		न	(भु)तप्रुव	ध्रममहमत्र	नम	(।)		से

G—	तैदशवासाभिसि(ते)न		धंममहामाता		कता	(।)
K—	(ते)दसवसाभिसितेन	मम(या)	धंममहामाता		(क)टा	(।)
D—	ते(द)सव(सा)भिसितेन	मे	धंममहामाता	ना(म)	कटा	(।)
J—	—	—	—		—	
S—	(तिदशवष)भिसितेन (12)	मय	ध्रममहमत्र		क्रि(ट्र)	(।)
M—	तेडशवषभिसितेन	मय	ध्रममहमत्र		कट	(।)

G—	ते	सवपासंडेसु		व्यापता	धामधिस्टानाय	(5)
K—	ते-	सवपासंडेसु		विया(प)टा (15)	धंमाधिथानाये	चा
D—	ते	स(व)पासंडेसु	(23)	विया(पटा)	धंमाधिथा(ना)ये	
J—	—	—	(25)	—	-'(मा)धि(ठा)ना-	
S—	ते	सव्र(प्र)षंडेषु		वप(ट)	ध्रमधिथनये	(च)
M—	ते	सव्रपषडेषु	(22)	वपुट	ध्रमधिथनये	च

G—	—	—	—	धंमयुतस	च	योन—
K—	धम्मवढिया	हि(द)सुखाये	च	धम्मयुतसा		योन—
D—	धंमवढिये	हितसुखाये	च	धं(मयु)तस		योन—
J—	—	—	—	—		—
S—	ध्रमवढि(ये)	हिदसुखये	च	ध्रमयुतस		योन—
M—	ध्रमवध्रिय	हिदसुखये	च	(ध्र)मयुतस		योन—

G—	कंबो—	गंधारारणं	रिस्टिक-	पेतेणिकानं	ये वापि	अंञे
K—	कंबोज-	गंधा(ला)नं	—	—	ए वापि	अंने
D—	कंबोच-	गंधालेसु	लठिक-	पितेनिकेसु	ए वापि	अंने
J—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S—	कंबोय-	गंधरनं	रठिकनं	पितिनिकनं	ये व	पि
M—	कंबोज-	गंधरनं	रठ्रक-	पितिनिकन	ये व(पि)	अञे

G—	अपराता	(।)	भतमयेसु व	(6)	—	—
K—	अपलंता		भटमयेसु		बंभनिभेसु	अनथेसु
D—	आ(पलं)त	(।)	भटि(मये)सु	(24)	बाभ(नि)भि(येसु)	अनाथेसु
J—	—		—	(26)	—भनिभि—	—
S—	अपरत	(।)	भटम(ये)षु		ब्रमणिभेषु	अनथेषु
M—	अपरत	(।)	भटमये (23)षु		ब्रमणिभ्येषु	अनथेषु

G—	—	-(सु)खाय	धंमयुतानं	अपरिगोधाय
K—	वुध्रेसु	हिदसुखाये	धंमयुताये	अपलिबोधाये
D—	म(हा)लकेसु च	(हि)तसुखाये	धमयुताये	अ(प)लिबो(धा)ये
J—	—	—	—	—
S—	(वु)ढेषु	हितसुखये	(ध्र)मयुतस	अपलि(बोधे)
M—	वुध्रे षु	हिदंसु(खये)	ध्रमयुत-	अपलिबोधये

G—	व्यापता ते	(।)	बंधनबधस	पटिविधानाय (7)	—
K—	वियापटा ते	(।)	बंधनबधसा	पटिविधानाये	अपलिबोधाये
D—	वियापटा से	(।)	बंध(नब)धस	(प)टिवि(धाना)ये	अपलि(बोधा)ये
J—	—		—	—	—
S—	वपट ते	(।) (13)	बंधनबधस	पटिविधनये	अप(लि)बोधये
M—	वियपुट ते	(।)	बधनबधस	पटिवि(धन)ये	अपलिबोधये

G—	—	—	—	—	(प्र)जा		—
K—	मोखाये	चा	एयं	अनुबध	प्रजाव	ति	वा (16)
D—	मोखाये	च (25)	इयं	अनुबं(ध)	(पज)	ति	व
J—	मोखाये	—	—	—	—		—
S—	मो (छये)		इयं	अ(नु)ब(धं)	प्रजव		
M—	मोछये	च	इयं (24)	अनुबध	पज	ति	व

G—	कताभीकारेसु		वा	थैरेसु		वा	व्यापता	ते	(।)	पाटलिपुते	च
K—	(कटाभिका)लेति		वा	महालके	ति	वा	वियापटा	ते	(।)	हिदा	
D—	(क)टाभीका(लें)ति		व	महालके	ति	व	वियापटा	से	(।)	हिद	च
J—	—	(28)		—			—			—	—
S—	किटभिकरो		व	महलक		व	वियपट्र		(।)	हश्र	
M—	कर्ढभिकर	ति	व	महलके	ति	व	वियप्रट	ते	(।)	हिदं	

G— बाहिरेसु च (८) — — — —
K— वाहिलेसु चा न(ग)लेसु सवेसु (ओलो)धनेसु
D— (वा)हिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु (सवे)सु ओ(लो)धने(सु) (मे) एवापि
J— — — — — — — एवा—
S— वहिरेषु च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु
M— वहिरेषु च नगरेषु सव्रेषु (ओ)रोधनेषु

G— — — — ए वा पि मे अञे ञातिका
K— भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिक्ये
D— भा(ति)न मे भगिनीनं व (26) अंनेसु (वा) ना(तिसु)
J— — — — — —
S— भ्रतुनं च मे स्पसुनं च ये व पि अञे ञतिक
M— भतन च स्पसुन च (25) ये व पि अञे ञतिके

G— सर्वत व्यापता ते (।) यो अयं धंमनिस्रितो ति व (9)
K— सवता वियापटा (।) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा
D— (सवत वियाप)टा (।) ए इयं धं(मनि)मिते ति व
J— — — — — —
S— सवत्र वियपु(ट) (।) (यं इ)यं ध्रमणिश्रिते ति व
M— सव्रत्र वियपट (।) ए इय ध्रमनिशिति ति व

G— — — — —
K— — दानसंयुते ति वा विजितसि ममा
D— धमाधिथाने ति (व) दानसयुते व सवपु(ठ)वियं
J— — — — — (29)
S— ध्रमधिथ(ने) ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत्र विजिते म(ह)
M— ध्रमधिथने ति व दनसंयुते ति व सव्रत्र विजितमि मत्र

G— — — (ते) धंमहामाता (।) एताय
K— धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धममहामाता (।) एतायें
D— धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंमसहा(माता) (।) (इमा)ये
J— — — — (।) —
S— ध्रमयुतमि वियपट ते ध्रममहमत्र (।) एतये
M— ध्रमयुतसि वपुट ते (26) ध्रममहमत्र (।) एतये

G—	अथाय	अयं	धंमलिपी	लिखिता (10)	(·)	—	—
K—	अठाये (17)	इयं	धंमलिपि	लेखिता	(·)	चिलथितिक्या	होतु
D—	अठाये (27)	इयं	धंमलि(पी)	लिखि(ता)	( )	चिलठि(ति)का	(हो)तु
J—	—		—	—		—	—
S—	अठये	अयं	ध्रमदिपि	दिपि(स्त)	( )	चिरथितिक	भोतु
M—	अथ्ये	अयि	ध्रमदिपि	लिखित	(·)	चिरठितिक	होतु

G—	—		—	—	—		—
K—	(त)था	(च)	मे	प(जा)	अनुवत(·)तु		(।)
D—	(तथा)	(च)	मे	प(जा)	अनुवततु	(28)	(।)
J—	—		—	—	—	(30)	( )
S—	तथ	च	—	प्रज	अनुवततु	(14)	(।)
M—	तथं	च	मे	प्रज	अनुवटतु		(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

देवानां प्रियः (देवप्रिय) प्रियदर्शी राजा आह —कल्याणं दुष्करम्। य आदिकर· कल्याणस्य स दुष्करं करोति। तत् मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम्। तत् मम पुत्रा· च नप्तार· च परं च तेभ्य· यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते, ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति। यः तु देशं (एकदेशमित्यर्थः) हापयिष्यति, सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति। पाप हि नाम सुप्रदार्य्यम्। तत् अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं न भूतपूर्व्वाः धर्म्ममहामात्रा· नाम। तत् त्रयोदशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया धर्म्ममहामात्राः कृताः। ते सर्व्वपाषण्डेषु व्यापृता· धर्म्माधिष्ठानाय च, धर्म्मवृद्धया हितसुखाय च धर्म्मयुक्तस्य यवन—कम्बोज—गन्धाराणा, ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ता· (तेषामपि इत्यर्थ·)। भृतार्य्येषु (भृतेषु अर्य्येषु च इत्यर्थः)। ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु (ब्राह्मणेषु इभ्येषु च इत्यर्थ·), अनाथेषु, वृद्धेषु (तेषा सर्व्वेषा इत्यर्थ·) हितसुखाय, धर्म्मयुक्ताय (धर्म्मयुक्तस्य इत्यर्थ·) अपरिबाधाय (०यै वा) व्यापृता ते। बन्धनबद्धस्य प्रतिविधानाय, अपरिबाधाय (०यै वा), मोक्षाय च—अयं अनुबद्धप्रजावान् (अन्यत्र अनुबद्धप्रज·) इति, कृताभिकार· इति वा, महल्लकः इति वा व्यापृता· ते। इह बाह्येषु च नगरेषु, सर्व्वेषु अवरोधनेषु, भ्रातॄणां च न· भगिनीना ये वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातय· (तेषा इत्यर्थ) सर्व्वत्र व्यापृताः। यः अयं धर्म्मनिश्रित इति वा दानसंयुक्त इति वा सर्व्वत्र विजिते मम, धर्म्मयुक्ते व्यापृताः ते धर्म्ममहामात्राः। एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्म्मलिपि· लेखिता—चिरस्थितिका भवतु (इयं इत्यर्थः), तथा च मे प्रजा· अनुवर्त्तन्ताम्।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods says:—A good deed is difficult to perform. He who is the first doer (a pioneer) of good deeds does perform a difficult job. So many good deeds have been done by me. If in the same way will follow my sons and grandsons and my descendants after them until the end of the cycle (at existences), they will (surely) do a good thing (indeed). But he who, in this matter, will cause any neglect or omission even of a part (of one's duty or of this commandment) will do ill. For sin is a thing which should be well weeded out or torn to pieces. A (long) interval has however, elapsed, (during when) high state functionaries for the department of the Law of piety (called *Dharma mahāmātras*) were not appointed, but such *Dharma-mahāmātras* were employed by me when I was consecrated thirteen years. They have been employed for the establishment of the Law of piety among all (religious) sects and for the good and happiness of the *dharmayutas* (the officers of lower rank in the *dharma* department, or those who are faithful in religion) through the growth or progress of *dharma* (the Law of Piety). They are employed (specially) for the welfare and happiness of the Yavanas (Ionians or Greeks), the Kambojas and the Gandhāras, and also of those other people who are inhabitants of the western border, and of the hired servants and masters, of the Brāhmaṇas and the wealthy people, and of the helpless and the old people, and (they are employed also) to free the *dharmayutas* from hardship (or trouble). They are employed to see to the counteracting of the (judicial) sentence, freedom from hardship and the release of persons imprisoned, on the score of their being found to be attached to their children, or their being thrown overboard (hurled into misery) or their being older in age. Here (probably, in the capital-city) and other outside towns, they have been everywhere employed in all the harems (royal female establishments) of my brothers and sisters and (also) over those others who are our relatives (or kinsmen). Then everywhere in my dominion these *Dharma-mahāmātras* are employed to see that the *dharmayutas are* devoted to the Law of piety and are given to charity. For this purpose, this edict of the Law of piety has been caused to be written, so that it may endure long and my people may act (or follow) accordingly.

WORD NOTES

(1) आदिकले—Skt. आदिकर: cf. अदिकरे of M, lit. it means who does the beginning or takes the initiative, hence a pioneer in the field of doing good deeds.

(2) आवकपं—*Vide ante*, note (9) of R. E. IV.

(3) देसं—Skt देशं i e. एकदेशं, a part only.

(4) कछति—cf. कषति S and M, fut. form of कृ. In Pali we have काहति and करिस्सति.

(5) सुपदालये—cf. सुपदरेव M, skt. सुप्रदार्य्यं—i e. which requires to be fully weeded out or entirely uprooted. G and S, however have सुकरं in stead, sin being an easy thing to commit or do.

(6) धंममहामाता—Skt धर्म्ममहामात्रा· The word महामात्र means अमात्य. So this word means High state-official or an Administrator in the department of the Law of piety, an institution probady innovated by Aśoka himself. It appears that he had jurisdiction over life and death of people end hence Aśoka gives a detailed account of his functions which are directed to be exercised with caution. Cf. मेदिनी—"महामात्र· समृद्धे चामात्ये हस्तिपकाधिपे" ।

(7) सवपासंडेषु—Cf. सव्रप्रपंडेषु S. Generally speaking the word पाषण्ड means a heretical sect, but Aśoka calls even one's own sect as पाषण्ड (Vide the expressions आत्मपाषण्ड and परपाषण्ड in R E XII) The Buddhists of old used the word to mean sects other than their own, e g. the Ajīvakas, the Nirgranthas and the Brāhmanas. Cf. Kautilya—पाषण्डा: III. 16. पाषण्डच्छद्मना XII 5.

(8) धंमयुतस—Skt. धर्म्मयुक्तस्य Just as धर्म्ममहामात्र's are an innovation of Aśoka, so also are the धर्म्म-युक्त's, who represent the subordinate officials of the धर्म्म-department working under the धर्म्ममहामात्र's.

(9) योनकंबोजगंधालानं—The G text has in this connection the additional words रिस्टिक-पेतिणिकान, Cf. रस्तिकनं पितिनिकनं in S and रट्रकपितिनिकन in M and लठिक-पितिनिकेसु in D. योन=यवन, the Ionian or Greek people in the north-west of India, the कम्बोज's are people living in the Himalayan region of the west. The गन्धार's were the famous people of Gandhāra in the north west (Punjab and Peshawar sides). The राष्ट्रिक's are taken by scholars to refer to the people of Mahārāshṭra. But the पितिनिक's cannot yet be identified properly.

(10) अपलंता—Skt. अपरान्ता·. Cf. अपराता in G, अपरंत in S and अपरत in M and आपलंत in D They are inhabitants of the (western) border, i e the border people of the west.

(11) भटमयेमु—भृतार्येषु i.e towards भृत's or servants or hired people and अर्य's or masters The मू here is to be taken as euphonic consonant as we find in Pali and Prakrits. The word here is not the Skt. भट or a soldier, as is clear from the other corresponding texts (cf भतमयेमु in G, and भटिमयेमु in D)

(12) बंभनिभेसु—Skt ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु Cf ब्रमणिभेमु in S, ब्रमणिभ्येमु in M and बभणिभियेमु in D. The word इभ्य means wealthy or opulent. Cf Amara "इभ्य आढ्यो धनी". Some scholars take the word to refer to the kingly class i e. the क्षत्रिय's They probably think that the people of the main caste-people are referred to by the words भृत's or Śūdras, अर्य's or the Vaiśyas, the ब्राह्मण's and the इभ्य's or the Ksatriyas

(13) अपलिबोधाये—Pali पलिबोध=Skt परिबाध or परिबाधा, trouble or annoyance or hardship or hindrance, hence the word here means freedom from troubling or annoying The G text has अपरिगोधाय which some scholars translate into 'freeing from greed'. Evidently they think of the Pali word गिद्धि greed. Skt गृध् means to covet, to strive greedily after.

(14) अनुबधपजाव—Skt. अनुबद्धप्रजावान्, Cf अनुबधपज of S. M. D. one bound or fastened to one's children

(15) कटाभिकले—Skt कृताभिकार· Cf. कताभीकारेसु in G, किटभिकरो in S, किटभिकर M and कटाभीकाले in D. Pali अभिकीरति means to pour over, to overwhelm Cf. the *Dhammapada* (V. 25) use of it in "दीपं कयिराथ मेधावी यं ओघो नाभिकीरति". The Skt. root अभि+कॄ (किरति) also means to pour over, throw over, cover The word therefore means one who is engulfed (in miseries).

(16) बाहिलेसु—Skt. बाह्येषु. Cf बाहिरेसु in G, बहिरेषु in S and M, outside.

(17) धंमनिसिते—Skt. धर्म्मनिश्रित·. Cf. धंमनिस्रितो in G, ध्रमनिश्रिते in S, ध्रमनिशिति in M. Pali निस्सित from नि+श्रि, depending on, devoted to *dhamma* i. e. having resort to *dhamma*.

EDICT VI (TEXT)

G—	(1) देवानं	प्रि—	—सि	राजा	एवं	आह	(:—)	अतिक्रातं	अंतरं (2)
K—	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(:—)	अतिकंतं	अंतलं
D—	देवा(नं)	(पि)ये	पि(यद)सी	लाजा	(हे)व	आहा	(·—)	अ(ति)क(तं)	(अंत)लं
J—	(1) —(वा)नं	पिये	पियदसी	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(—)	अति(कं)तं	अंतलं
S—	देवनं	प्रियो	प्रिय(द्र)शि	रय	एवं	अह ति	(:—)	अति(क्र)तं	अंतरं
M—	देवनं	प्रिये	प्रियद्रशि	रज	एवं	अह	(—)	अतिक्रंतं	अंतरं

G—	न	भूतपुर्वे	सव	—ल	अथकंमे	व	पटिवेदना	वा	(।)	त मया	एवं
K—	नो	हुतपुलुवे	सवं	कालं	अठकंमे	वा	(पटि)वेदना	वा	(।)	से मया	हेवं
D—	नो	(हूत)पुलुवे	सवं	कालं	अठ(कं)मे	व	(प)टिवेद(ना)	व	(।)	से ममया	
J—	नो	हूतपुलुवे	सवं	क(का)लं	अठकंमे		पटिवेदना	व	(।)	से ममया	
S—	न	(भुत)प्रुवं	सत्रं	कलं	अथक्रमं	व	पटिवेदन	व	(।)	तं मय	एवं
M—	(27) नो	हुतप्रुवे	सत्रं	कल	अथ(क्रम)	व	पटिवेदन	व	(।)	त मय	एवं

G—	कतं (·—)	(3) सवे	काले	भुंजमानस	मे		ओरोधनम्हि	गभागारम्हि
K—	कटे (—)	सवं	कालं	अदमनसा	मे (19)		ओलोधनसि	गभागालसि
D—	कटे (:—)	सवं	(कालं)	—(मी)नस	मे (29)	अंते	ओलोवन(सि)	गभा(गाल)सि
J—	कटे (:—)	सवं	कालं(2)	—(स)	मे	अंते	ओलोधनसि	गभागालसि
S—	किटं(:—)	सत्रं	कलं	अशमनस	मे		ओरोधनस्पि	ग्रभगरस्पि
M—	किटं(·—)	सत्र	कलं	अशतस	मे		ओरोधने	ग्रभगरसि

G—	वचम्हि	व	(4) विनीतम्हि	च	उयानेसु	च	सवत	पटिवेदका
K—	वचसि		विनि(तसि)		(उयानसि)		(सवता)	(पटिवेदका)
D—	व(चसि)		(वि)नीतसि		(उ)यान(सि)	(च)	सवत	पटिवेदका
J—	वचसि		विनीतसि		उयानसि	च	सवत	पटिवेदका
S—	व्रचस्पि		विनितस्पि		उयनस्पि		सत्रत्र	पट्रिवेदक
M—	व्रचस्पि		वि नितस्पि		उयनस्पि		सत्रत्र	प(टिवेद)क

G—	स्टिता	अथे	मे	जनस(5)		पटिवेदथ	इति	(।)	सर्वत्र	च	जनस
K—		अठं		जनसि		(पटि)वेदंतु	मे	(।)	सवता		जनसा
D—				जनस	अठं	पटिवेदयंतु	मे(ति)	(।)	स(वत)	च	जनस
J—				जनस	अठं	पटिवेदयंतु	मे ति	(।)	सवत	च	जनस
S—		अठं		जनस		प(ट्रि)वेदेतु	मे	(।)	मवत्र	च	जनस
M—		अथ्		जनस(28)		पटिवेदेतु	मे	(।)	सव्रत्र	च	जनस

G—	अथे	करोमि	(।)	य	च				किंचि	मुखतो (6)
K—	अठं	कछामि		हक	(।)	यं	पि	चा	(किछि)	(मुख)ते
D—	अ(ठं)	कलामि		ह(क)	(।) (30)	अं	पि	च	कि(छि)	मुखते
J— (3)	—	—		—(कं)	(।)	अं	पि	च	किछि	मुखते
S—	अठ्	करोमि			(।)	यं	पि	(च)	किचि	मुखतो
M—	अथ्	करोमि			(।)	यं	पि		किचि	मुखति

G—	आजपयामि	स्वयं	दापकं	वा	स्रावापकं	व	य	वा	पुन
K—	आन(पया)मि	हकं	दा(पकं)	वा	(सावकं)	(वा)	ये	वा	पुना
D—	(आनप)यामि		दापकं	वा	(सा)वकं	वा	ए	वा	
J—	आनपयामि		दापकं	वा	सावकं	वा	ए	वा	
S—	अणपयमि	(अहं)	(द)पकं	व .	श्रवक	व	य	व	पन
M—	अणपेमि	अहं	दपकं	व	श्रवकं	व	यं	व	पुन

G—	महामात्रेसु	(7)	आचायिक	आरोपितं	भवति	(,)		ताय	अथाय
K—	महामातेहि	(19)	अतियायिके	(आलोपितं)	होति	(,)		ताये-	ठाये
D—	महामा(तेहि)		अतियायिके	आलोपिते	होति	(,)		तसि	अठसि
J—	महामातेहि		अ(तिया)यिके	(आ)लोपिते	होति	(,)		(त)सि	अठसि
S—	महमत्रनं		अचयिक	अरोपितं	भोति	(,)		तये	अठये
M—	महमत्रेहि		अचयिके	अरोपित	होति	(,)	(29)	तये	अथये

S has the following extra lines:—

S—श्रवकं व यं व पन महमत्रनं (वो) अचयिक अ(रो)पितं भोति तये अठये विवदे व नि(भ्र)ति व संतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे (15) सवत्र च अठं जनस करोमि अ(हं) (।) यं च कि(चि) मुखतो अणपेमि अह दपकं व

G—	विवादो		निझती	व	मंतो	परिमाय	(८)	आनंतरं
K—	विवादे		निझति	वा	सतं	पलिमाये		अनंतलियेना
D—	वि(वा)दे	व	निझती	वा	संत	पलिसाय	(31)	आनंतलियं
J—	विवादे	व (4)	—	—	—	(प)लिमा(य)		(आ)नंतलियं
S—	विवदे				मंतं	परिषये		अनंतरियेन
M—	विवदे		निझति	व	संत	परिषये		अ(नं)तलियेन

G—	पटिवेदेतव्यं	मे		सर्वत्र	मर्वे	काले	(।)	एव	मया
K—	पटि—विये	मे		सवता	सव	कालं	(।)	हेव	
D—	पटि(वे)देतवि(ये)	मे	ति	सव(त)	सव	का(लं)	(।)	हे(वं)	मे
J—	पटिवेदेतविये	मे	ति	सवत	सव	कालं	(।)	हेवं	मे
S—	पढ्रिवेदेतवो	मे		सवत्र	स(व्र)	कलं	(।)	एवं	
M—	पटिवेदितविये	मे		सव्रत्र	सव्र	कल	(।)	एवं	

G—	आजपितं	(।)	नास्ति	हि	मे
K—	आनपयिते ममया	(।)	नथि	हि	मे
D—	अनुसथे	(।)	नथि	(हि)	(मे)
J—	अनुसथे	(।)	नथि	हि	मे
S—	अणपित मय	(।)	नस्ति	हि	मे
M—	अणपित मय	(।)	नस्ति	हि	मे

G—	तोसो (9)	उस्टानम्हि	अथसंतीरणाय	व	(।)	कतव्यमते	हि	मे
K—	दोसे व	उठानसा	अठसंतिलनाये	चा	(।)	कटवियमते	हि	मे
D—	(तोसे)	उ(ठानसि)	अठसतीलनाय	च	(।)	कठविय(मते)	हि	मे
J—	तोसे	उठानसि	अठसंतीलनाय	च (5)	(।)	—		मे
S—	तोषो	उठनसि	अठसंतिरणये	च	(।)	कटवमतं	हि	मे
M—	तोषे	उ(ठनसि)	अथ्रसंतिरणये	च	(।) (30)	कटवियमते	हि	मे

G—	सर्वलोकहितं (10)	(।)	तस	च	पुन	एस	मूले	उस्टानं
K—	सवलोकहिते	(।)	(तसा		पु)ना	ए(से)	मुले	उठाने(20)
D—	सवलोकहिते (32)	(।)	तस	च	पन	इयं	मूले	(उ)ठाने
J—	सवलोकहिते	(।)	तस	च	पन	इयं	मूले	उठाने
S—	सव्रलोकहितं	(।)	तस	च			मुल	ए(त) उथनं
M—	सव्रलोकहिते	(।)	तस	चु	(पुन)	एषे	मुले	उठने

G—	च	अथमंतीरणा	च	(।)	नास्ति	हि	कंमतरं (11)	सर्वलोक —
K—		अठमंतिलना	चा	( )	नथि	हि	कंमतला	सव(लोक) —
D—	च	अ(ठ) संतीलना	च	(।)	नथि	हि	कंमत—	(सव)लो(क)—
J—	च	अठसंतीलना	च	(।)	नथि	हि	कंमपतला	सवलोक —
S—		अठसंतिरण	च	(।)	नस्ति	हि	क्रमतरं (16)	स्रवलोक —
M—		अथ्रसंतिरण	च	(।)	नस्ति	हि	क्रमतर	सत्रलोक —

G—	हितत्पा	(।)	य	च	किंचि	पराक्रमामि	अहं	(·)	किंति (?)
K—	हितेना	(।)	यं	च	किंचि	पलकमामि	हकं	( )	किति (?)
D—	(हितेन)	(।)	अं	च	-छि	पलकमामि	हकं	(:)	किंति (?)
J—	हितेन	(।)	अं	च	किछि	पलकमामि	हकं	( ) (6)	—
S—	हितेन	(।)	यं	च	किछि	परकममि		(·)	किति (?)
M—	हितेन	(।)	य	च	(कि)छि	पर(क्र)ममि	अहं		किति (?)

G—	भूताना	आनंणं	गछेयं	(12)	इध	च	नानि
K—	भुतानं	(अ)ननिय	येहं		हिध	च	कानि
D—	भूतान	आ(न)नियं	येहं ति	(33)	हिद	च	कानि
J—		—(न)नियं	येहं ति		हिद	च	कानि
S—	भुतनं	अननियं	व्रचेयं		इअ	च	(ष)
M—	भुतनं (31)	अनणियं	येहं		इअ	च	ष

G—	सुखापयामि	परता	च	स्वग	आराधयंतु	(।)	त	एताय
K—	सुखायामि	पलत	चा	स्वगं	आलाधयितु	(।)	से	एताये
D—	सुखयामि	पलत	च	स्वग	आलाधयंतु	ति (।)		एताये
J—	सुखयामि	पलत	च	स्वगं	आलाधयंतू	ति (।)		एताये
S—	सुखयमि	परत	च	स्पगं	अरधेतु	(।)		एतये
M—	सुखयमि	परत	च	स्पग्रं	अरधेतु	ति (।)	से	एतये

G—	अथाय (13)	अयं	धंमलिपी	लेखापिता	(:)	किंति	चिरं तिस्टेय
K—	-टाये	इयं	धमलिपि	लेखिता	(:)	चिलठितिक्या	
D—	... ...	यं	धंमलिपी	लिखिता	(:)	चि(लठि)तीका	
J—	अठाये	इयं	धंमलिपी	लिखिता	(:)	चिलठितीक	
S—	अठये	अयि	ध्रम	दिपिस्त	(:)	चिरथितिक	
M—	अथ्रये	इयं	ध्रमदिपि	लिखित	(:)	चिरठितिकं	

G—	इति	तथा	च	मे	पुला	पोता	च	प्रपोला	च(14)
K—	होतु	तथा	च	मे	पुतदाले				
D—	होतु	तथा	च		पुता			पपोता	मे
J—	होतु (7)		—		—			पोता	मे
S—	भोतु	तथ	च	मे	पुत्र			नतरो	
M—	होतु	तथ	च	मे	पुत्र			नतरे	

G—	अनुवतरा	सवलोकहिताय	(।)	दुकरं	तु	
K—	पलकमातु	सवलोकहिता(ये) (21)	(।)	दुकले	च	
D—	पलकमंतु	सव(लोकहिता)ये	(।)	दुकले	चु	
J—	पलकमंतु	सवलोकहिताये	(।)	दुकले	चु	
S—	परक्रमंतु	सवलोकहितये	(।)	दुकरं	तु	(खो)
M—	परक्रमते	सत्र (32) लोकहितये	( )	दुकरे	चु	खो

G—	इदं	अञत	अगेन	पराक्रमेन	(।)
K—	इयं	अनत	अगेना	पलकमेना	(।)
D—	इयं	अन(त	अगेन	प)लकमेन	(।)
J—	इयं	अनत	अगेन	पलकमेन	(।)
S—	इमं	अंञत्र	अग्रे	परक्रमेन	(।)
M—		अञत्र	अग्रेन	परक्रमेन	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

देवाना प्रिय (देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आहः—अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं न भूतपूर्व्वं सर्व्वं कालं अर्थकर्म्म वा प्रतिवेदना वा। तत् मया एवं कृतं—सर्व्वं कालं अदत. मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे, व्रजे, विनीते, उद्याने—सर्व्वत्र प्रतिवेदका· अर्थं जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु मे—सर्व्वत्र जनस्य अर्थं करिष्यामि अहम्। यत् अपि च किञ्चित् मुखत. आज्ञापयामि अहं दापकं (दापन इत्यर्थ·) वा श्रावकं (श्रावणं इत्यर्थः) वा, यत् वा पुन महामात्रेभ्य· आत्ययिक आरोपितं भवति—तस्मै अर्थाय विवाद निध्यातिः वा स्तः परिषदि—आनन्तर्येण प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्व्वत्र सर्व्वं कालम्। एवं आज्ञापितं मया। नास्ति हि मे तोषः वा उत्थानस्य (उत्थाने वा) अर्थसंतीरणायाः च। कर्त्तव्यमतं हि मे सर्व्वलोकहितम्। तस्य पुन. एतत् मूलं उत्थानं अर्थसंतीरणं च। नास्ति हि कर्म्मान्तरं सर्व्वलोकहितेन (सर्व्वलोकहितात् इत्यर्थ.)। यत् च किञ्चित् प्रक्रमे वा अहं। किं इति—भूताना आनृण्यं एया, इह च कान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गं आराधयित्वा (आराधयन्तु, अन्यत्र)। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्म्मलिपिः लेखिता—

चिरस्थितिका भवतु, तथा च मे पुत्रदारा प्रक्रमन्ता सर्व्वलोकहिताय। दुष्कर च एतत् अन्यत्र अग्रेण प्रक्रमेण (अग्र्यात् प्रक्रमात् इत्यर्थः)।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—A long time has elapsed, during the whole of that time no (proper) transaction of business or (proper) report was made before. So, I have so done that at all times whether I am eating, or am in the harem or in the inner chamber, or in the cattle-shed (the station of herdsmen), or on horse-back (literally on a trained or tamed horse), or in the garden—everywhere the reporters (or informers) should report to me the people's business. If I ever verbally command a man who causes any payment to be made, or who causes any injunction to be announced (some scholars thus translate "command a donation or an injunction); or again, when I pass or place an order to the High State functionaries or Ministers on any matter of urgency and in that matter a dispute (or controversy) arises or a deliberation (or a debate for arriving at a decision) proceeds on in the Council—then immediately that affair should be reported to me in all places and at all times. Thus have I commanded. For, I never feel (full) satisfaction in my exertion (or promptness of action) and dispatch (or completion) of business. For, the welfare of all people is regarded by me as the (chief) duty to do. And of that again, the root is exertion and the dispatch of business Because, there is no other work more (essential) than the (act for the) welfare of the people. And whatever work I take up to do—and why?—is for the reason that I may discharge my debt to beings, so that I may make some happy and that (they) may win heaven in the world hereafter. So for this purpose has this edict of the Law of piety been caused to be written in order that it may long endure and that my sons and wives may take up (undertake) work for the welfare of the people. That is indeed difficult to do without great undertaking (or great step or stride).

WORD NOTES

(1) पटिवेदना—from Skt. प्रतिवेदयति (caus. of प्रति+विद्), to make known, to report, to inform. Hence the word means report of information gathered by informants.

(2) अदमनसा—Skt. अदतः i.e. while taking food. Cf. भुंजमानस of G, अशमनस of S, and अशतस of M, all which mean 'while eating'.

(3) गभागालसि—Skt. गर्भागारे, in the inner apartment (may be, 'in the sleeping-room'). Often the sanctuary or adytum of a temple (where the image of a deity is placed) is called गर्भगृह

(4) वचसि—In Prakrits the root व्रज् takes the form वच्च् by the rule "च्चो व्रजनृत्यो"—the ज् of the roots व्रज् and त् of नृत् becoming च्. Hence the word is in Skt व्रजे here. Cf वचम्हि in G, व्रचस्पि in S and M व्रज as noun means cow-pen, cattle-shed, or enclosure or station of herdsmen The king is in duty bound to inspect his live-stock Inspection of royal stables is a part of the king's duties.

(5) विनितसि—G has विनीतम्हि, S and M have विनितस्पि and D and J have विनीतसि. Skt विनीते, (while riding) a trained horse which walks well. "विनीताः साधुवाहिन"—Amara. "विनीतः सुवहाश्वे"—Medini. The Commentator, Bhānuji-Dīkshita, says—'सम्यग्गतिमता वाजिना' इ. Some scholars explain the word (taking it to be विनीतक) as a vehicle or conveyner, a litter or palanquin, but, such uses are rare specially in Sanskrit literature.

(6) दापके, सावके—As the forms stand they cannot mean a donation (दापनं) and an injunction (श्रावणं), but they mean respectively direction to persons who cause payments of Government money to others and those who cause Government orders to be announced to the people

(7) महामातेहि—The word महामात्र is thus mentioned by old lexicographers—"महामात्राः प्रधानानि" इत्यमर· and "महामात्रः समृद्धे चामात्ये हस्तिपकाधिपे" इति मेदिनी, so here it means 'State Ministers' or 'High Executive officers of Government'

(8) अतियायिके—Skt. आत्ययिकं which means an urgent matter which cannot suffer delay in consideration i.e, an affair to which immediate attention is needed. Vide Kauṭilya's use of this word in Bk. I. 15 which suits well the context of the edict here—"आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात्" and also in Bk. I. 19 "सर्वमात्ययिकं कार्यं शृणुयान्नातिपातयेत्".

(9) निझति—Skt. निध्याति, deep consideration or discussion or contemplation or deliberation or debate, cf. निझतिया P.E. VII

(10) पलिसाये—Skt. परिषदि i e. in the मन्त्रिपरिषद् (of Kautilya), the Council of Ministers (both the Counsellors and the High Executive officials)

(11) उठानसा—Skt. उत्थानस्य cf उस्टानम्हि in G, उठनसि in S, उठने in M, D and J Vide the following quotations from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* which may serve as the best commentaries to the passages in this edict, referring to the most important characteristic (of उत्थानं) that a king should possess. उत्थान is becoming energetic, or promptness in action, or remaining ever ready for actions The *Arthaśāstra* I. 19 passages are —"राजानमुत्तिष्ठमानं अनूत्तिष्ठन्ते भृत्या ", "तस्माद् उत्थानमात्मनः कुर्वीत", "राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानम्", "तस्मान् नित्योत्थितो राजा कुर्यादर्थानुशासनम् । अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानमनर्थस्य विपर्ययः" ॥ And "अनुत्थाने ध्रुवो नाश प्राप्तस्यानागतस्य च । प्राप्यते फलमुत्थानाल् लभते चार्थसम्पदम्" ॥

(12) अठसंतिलनाये—Skt. अर्थसंतीरणाया , cf अथसंतीरणा of G, अठसंतिरणये in S, अथ्-संतिरणये in M, अठसंतीलानाय of D The meaning is completion or settlement of any business, hence the word stands for dispatch of business i.e. getting business off one's hands by prompt dealing. For the word संतीरण we may compare the Aśokan phrase तीलीतदंडानं in P.E. IV.

13) पलक्रमामि—Skt. पक्रमे. The root प्र + क्रम् is used in the Ātmanepada form by the Paninian rule "प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्" I. 3 42 Bhattoji-Dīkshita says "प्रारम्भेऽनयोस्तुल्यार्थता". So both प्रक्रमते and उपक्रमते mean to commence (a work), or to undertake (a work), cf. पराक्रमामि in G, परक्रममि in S and M. Hence, the last word of the edict पलक्रमेना (पराक्रमेन in G, परक्रमेन in S and M and पलक्रमेन in D and J), is to be translated by प्रक्रमेण and not पराक्रमेण. प्रक्रम means commencement, undertaking, enterprise. In this connection we may compare the forms पकंते in Br and S texts, पलकंते in Sa text and पकते in R text of M R. E. I

14) अननियं—Skt आनृण्यम्

EDICT VII (TEXT)

G—	(1)	देवानं	पियो	पियदसी	राजा	सर्वत	इछति	सवे	पासंडा
K—		देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	(स)वता	(इ)छति	स(व	पा)संड
D—	(1)	देवानं	(पि)ये	पियदसी	लाज	सवत	इछति	(सव	पा)सं(डा)
J—		—	—	— यद(सी)	लाजा	सवत	इछति	सव	पासंडा
S—		देवनं	प्रियो	प्रिय(द्र?)शि	रज	सवत्र	इछति	सत्रे (2)	प्रषंड
M—		देव(न)	(प्रिये)	प्रियद्रशि	रज	सव्रत्र	इछति	सत्र	पषड

G—	वसेयु	(।)	सवे		ते	सयमं	च	(2)	भावसुधिं	च	इछति (।)
K—	वसेवु	(।)	सवे	हि	ते	सयमं			भावसुधि	चा	इछंति (।)
D—	वसेवू ति	(।)	सवे	हि	(ते)	(स)यमं			(भा)वसुधी	च	इछंति (।)
J—	वसे(वू ति)	(।)	(सवे)	हि	(ते)	स(य)मं			भावसुधी	च	इछंति (।)
S—	वसेयु	(।)	सत्रे	हि	ते	सयम			भवशुधि	च	इछंति (।)
M—	वसेयु	(।)	सत्रे	हि	ते	सयम			भावशुधि	(च)	(33)इछंति (।)

G—	जनो	तु	उचावचछंदो	उचावचरागो	(।)	ते	सर्वं	व कासंति
K—	जने	चु	उचावुचछंदे	उचावुचलागे	(।)	ते	सवं	
D—	मुनिसा	च (2)	(उ)चावुचछंदा	उचावुचलागा	(।)	ते	सवं	वा
J—	मुनिसा	च	उचवुचछंदा	उचावुचलागा	(।) (9)	—	—	(वा)
S— (3)	जनो	चु	उचवुचछंदो	उचवुचरगो	(।)	ते	सत्रं	व
M—	जने	चु	उचवुचछदे	उचवुचरगे	(।)	ते	सत्रं	

G—	एकदेसं	व	कसंति	(।)	(3)	विपुले	तु पि	दाने	यस	नास्ति
K—	एकदेसं	पि	कछंति	(।)		विपुले	पि चु	दा(नं)	असा	नथि (22)
D—	एक(दे)सं	व	(कछंति	(।)		वि(पुले)	पि च	दाने	अस	नथि
J—	एकदेसं	व	कछंति	(।)		विपु)ले	पि च	(दाने)	—	—
S—	एकदेशं	व (4) पि	कषंति	(।)		विपुले	पि चु	दने	यस	नस्ति
M—	एकदेशं	व पि	कषति	(।)		विपुले	पि चु	दने	यस	नस्ति

G—	सयमे	भावसुधिता	व	कतंञता व	दढभतिना	च	निचा	बाढं	(1)	(4)
K—	सयमे	भावसुधि		किटनाता	दिढभतिता	चा	निचे	बाढं	(1)	
D—	(सय)मे	(भा)वसुधी	च				नीचे	बाढ	(1)	(3)
J—	—	— (धी)	च				नीचे	(बा)ढं	(1)	(10)
S—	सयम	भव(5)शुधि		किट्रञत	दिढभतित		निचे	प(ब)ढं	(1)	(6)
M—	सयमे	भवशुति		किटनत	द्रिढ्रभतित	च	(34)निचे	वढं	(1)	

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

देवाना प्रिय (देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शा राजा सर्वत्र इच्छति—सर्वे पाषण्डाः वसेयु । सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धि च इच्छन्ति । जन॰ तु उच्चावचच्छन्द उच्चावचराग॰ । ते सर्वं एकदेश अपि करिष्यन्ति । विपुलं अपि तु दानं यस्य नास्ति, संयम भावशुद्धि॰ कृतज्ञता दृढभक्तिता च (एते सर्वे इत्यर्थ॰) नित्याः वा (नीचा॰ इति वा केचित्) वाढम् (सन्ति तस्य इति शेष) ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods desires everywhere—may all the sects (different religious communities) live or dwell. For they all desire self-control and mental purity. Man, however, is possessed of various (lit. high or low) impulses and attachments. They (the sects of all denominations) will perform the whole or a part only (of their individual faiths). Even if for any one (belonging to those sects) there is no liberality or charity great or lavish enough, (the virtues of) self-control, mental purity, gratefulness and firm devotion (exist) assuredly (or really) as invariable (or obligatory).

WORD NOTES

(1) वसेवु—Skt. वसेयु॰. cf. वसेयु G.

(2) उचावुचाछंदे उचावुचलागे—Skt. उच्चावचच्छन्दः उच्चावचरागः, cf उचावचच्छंदो उचावचरागो of G, उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो of S and उचावुचछदे उचवुचरगे of M. Skt. उच्चावचं is thus explained by grammarians उदक् च (high) and अवाक् च (low) under Paṇinīyan rule "मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च" II. 1. 72. (High and low, great or small i.e. irregular or various). Palī छन्द means impulse or will, and Pali राग means lust or attachment.

(3) दानं—Cf दाने of D दान i e liberality or charity is regarded by the Buddhists as an essential part of *dhamma*. So the other virtues mentioned in the edict are in Aśoka's view somewhat non-essential

(4) निचे बाढ़ं—Cf निचा बाढं of G, निचे प(ब)ढ़ं of S, निचे बढं of M, and नीचे बाढ of D and J. Skt नित्या बाढ़म् (assuredly, invariably), or नीचा बाढं (really low or inferior).

EDICT VIII (TEXT)

G—(1)	अतिकात	अंतरं	राजानो	विहारयाता		जयासु	(।)
K—(21)	अतिकंतं	अंतल	देवानं पिया	विहालयातं	नाम	निखमिसु	(।)
D—(3)	—कंतं	अं(तलं)	ला(जा)ने	(वि)हालयातं	नाम	(निख)मिसु	(।)
J— (10)	(ति)कंतं	अंतलं	लाजा—	—	—	—	
S—(17)	अतक्रलं	अतरं ।	देवनं प्रिय	विहरयत्र	नम	निक्रमिषु	(।)
M—(34)	अतिक्रतं	अंतरं	देवन प्रिय	विहरयत्र	नम	निक्रमिषु	(।)

G—	एत	मगव्या	अञानि	च	एतारिसानि (2)	अभीरमकानि	अहुंसु	(।)
K—	हिदा	मिगविया	अंनानि	चा	हेडिसानि	अभिलामानि	हुसु	(।)
D—	– (त)	मि(ग)विया	(अंनानि	च	एदिसानि	(अभि)लामानि	हुवन्ति नं	(।)
J—	—	—(विया	(अं)नानि	च	ए—	—(मा)नि	हुवन्ति नं	(।)
S—	अत्र	म्रुगय	अञनि	च	हेदिशनि	अ(भि)रमनि	अभवसु	(।)
M—	इ(ह)	म्रिगविय	अञनि	च	एदिशनि	अभिरमनि	हुसु	(।)

G—	सो	देवानं	पियो		पियदसि	राजा	दसवसाभिसितो	संतो
K—	—	देवानं	पिये		पियदसि	लाजा	दसवसाभिसिते	सतं
D—	से	देवानं	पिये	(4)	पियदसी	लाजा	दस(वसा)भिसि(ते)	—
J—	से	देवानं	पिये	(11)	पियदसी	(ला)जा	दस ——	— —
S—	सो	देवनं	प्रियो		प्रियद्रसि	रज	दशवषभिसितो	सतो
M—	से	देवन	प्रिये		प्रियद्रशि (35)	रज	दशवषभिसिते	संतं

G—	अयाय	संबोधिं	(।) (3)	तेनेसा	धंमयाता	(।)	एत-	यं	होति (:—)
K—	निखमिथा	संबोधि	(।) (23)	तेनता	धंमयाता	(।)	(हे)ता	इयं	होति (.—)
D—	(नि)खमि	संबोधी	(।)	(तेन)ता	(धं)—	(।)	(तते)-	स	(हो)ति (.—)
J—	—	—		—	——	(।)	(त)ते-	(स)	(हो)ति (.—)
S—	निक्रमि	सबोधिं	(।)	तेनंद	ध्रमयत्र	(।)	अत्र	इयं	होति (:—)
M—	निक्रमि	संबोधि	(।)	तेन(दं)	ध्रययद्र	(।)	अत्र	इय	होति (·—)
So—	निखमिठा	सं—	(।)	—	—	—	हेत	इयं	होति (:—)

G—	बाम्हणसमणानं	दसणे	च	दाने	च	थैरानं	दसणे	च	(4)
K—	समनबंभनानं	दसने	चा	दाने	च	वुधानं	दसने	च	
D—	समनबाभनानं	(दसने)	च	दा(ने)	च	वुढानं	दसने	च	(5)
J—	(स) —— —	—	च	दाने	च	वुढानं	दसने	च	(12)
S—	श्रमणब्रमणनं	द्रशने		दनं		वु(ढ)नं	द्रशने		
M—	श्रमणब्रमणन	द्रशने		दने	च	वध्रन	द्रशने	(च)	
So—	—बंभ—	—		—	च	वुढानं	दसने		

G—	हिरंणपटिविधानो	च	जानपदस	च	जनस	दसनं	
K—	हिलंनपटिविधाने	चा	जानपदसा		जनसा	दसने	
D—	हिलंनपटिवि(धाने)	च	(जान)पद(स)		(ज)नस	दसने	च
J—	हिलंनपटिवि(धाने)	(च)	—		—	——	
S—	(हिर)त्रपटिविध(ने)	च	(जन)पदस		जनस	द्रशनं	
M—	हि(र ?)त्रपटिविध(ने)	च (36)	जनपदस		जनस	द्रशने	
So—	हिरंनपटिविधाने	च	——				

G—	धंमनुसस्टी	च	धमपरिपुछा	च	(।) (5)	तदोपया
K—	धंमनुसथि	चा	धमपलिपुछा	च	(।)	ततोपया
D—	धंमानु(स)थी	च	(धमपलिपु)छा	च	(।)	(तदो)प(या)
J—	—	—	(धं)मपालि(पु)—	च	(।)	——
S—	ध्रमनुशस्ति		ध्रमप(रि)पुछ	च	(।)	ततोपयं
M—	ध्रमनुशस्ति	च	ध्रमपरिपुछ	च	(।)	ततोपय
So—	(धं)मनुसठि		धंम	—	—	—

G—	एसा भुय	रति	भवति	(।)	देवानं	पियस	प्रियदसिनो	राञो	भागे	अंञे	(।)
K—	एसे भुये	ला(ल)ति	होति	(।)	देवानं	पियसा	पियदसिसा	लाजिने	भागे	अंने	(।)
D—	(एस)(भूये)	अभिलामे	होति	(।)	देवानं	पियस	पियद(सिने)	(ला)जिने	भागे	अंने	(।)
J—	— —	(भि)लामे	होति	(।)	देवानं	पियस(13)	प्रियदसिने	लाजिने	भागे	(अ)—	(।)
S—	ए(ष) भुये	रति	होहि	(।)	देवनं	प्रियस	प्रियद्रशिस	रञो	भगि	(अं)ञि	(।)
M—	एषे भुये	रति	होति	(।)	देवन	प्रियस	प्रियद्रशिस	(37)रजिने	भगे	अणे	(।)
So—	— —ये	रती	होति		देवा	—	— —	— जिन	भागे	अञे	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं देवाना प्रिया (देवप्रिया.) विहारयात्रा नाम निरक्रमिषु.। तत्र मृगव्यं अन्यानि च ईदृशानि अभिरामाणि अभूवन्। देवप्रिय प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः सन् निरक्रंस्त (निरक्रमीत् वा) संबोधिम्। तेन अत्र (तेन एषा) धर्मयात्रा। अत्र इदं भवति—श्रमणब्राह्मणाना दर्शनं च दानं च, वृद्धाना (अन्यत्र स्थविराणा) दर्शनं च हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशिष्टि च धर्मपरिपृच्छा च। तदुपेया (तदौपायिका वा) एषा भूयसी रतिः भवति। देवप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः भागः अन्यः।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

A (long) time had elapsed since the (former Kings), the Beloved of the Gods went indeed on pleasure-tours. In them there occurred hunting and similar other agreeable (amusements). King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, having been consecrated ten years, went out to *Saṁbodhi* (Buddha-Gayā, the place of perfect enlightenment of Buddha). From that arose this (practice) of *dharma-yātrā* (i.e. the tour of the Law of piety). There in it take place these (things)—visit to (Buddhist) ascetics and Brāhmanas and charity to them, visit to the elders (the *sthaviras* or the elder members of the Order) and gift of gold to them, visit to the people of the country and instruction in the Law of piety and questioning (discussion) on the Law of piety This pleasure, born of such (acts or means), is great. The lot (or good fortune) of King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, is different (in this matter).

WORD-NOTES

(1) देवानं पिया—Cf. राजानो G. This phrase referring to former kings indicates that pre-Aśokan kings also used this epithet ('the Beloved of the Gods').

(2) विहारयातं—Skt. विहारयात्रा, a tour of diversion or pastime, as opposed to धंमयाता (धर्म्मयात्रा i.e. tour of pilgrimage). For राजविहार and देशविहार cf. Kautilya VIII, 4. cf *ibid* यात्राविहारगत V. I.

(3) निखमिसु—Aor. 3rd p. pl. Skt निरक्रमेषु.

(4) अभिलामानि—Skt. अभिरामाणि, delightful or agreeable.

(5) निकमिठा—निर्+क्रम् आत्मनेपद aor-Sing with Pali इत्थ-विभक्ति form.

(6) संबोधि—Here the word does not seem to refer to 'perfect elightenment or knowledge' but to the place (Bodh-Gayā) where Gautama attained perfect wisdom.

(6) बुधानं—Skt. वृद्धानां. Cf थैरानं G, वुढनं S, बुध्रन M and वुढानं D and J. The elder monks in the order are meant here and not old people only.

(7) हिलंनपटिविधाने—Skt. हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं which here literally means distribution or disposal of gold (unwrought). The Buddhists of later period also had a practice of placing gold on Buddha's images, seats etc.

(8) ततोपया—Cf. तदोपया G and D, ततोपयं S, and ततोपय M. The Pali phrase तदुपिय or तदुपिक (तद्+औपायिक or Skt. औपायिक) (cf. "युक्तमौपयिकं लभ्यम्" इत्यमर.) means conformable or suitable or answering to that. Skt. तदुपेया (तत्+उप++एय) or तदौपयिका means 'that which is effected by that means'

(9) भागे—Skt. भागः. This word here undoubtedly means lot, specially fortunate lot, good fortune or luck. The king here refers to his own good fortune in having introduced the system of धर्म्मयात्रा by visiting Bodh-Gayā, as being quite different from the tour of his predecessors, who only enjoyed विहारयात्रा.

EDICT IX (TEXT)

G—	(1)	देवानं	पियो	प्रियदसि	राजा	एवं	आह	(:—)	अस्ति	जनो
K—		देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा		आहा	(·—)		जने
D—		देवानं	पिये	पियदसी	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(·—)	(अथि)	(जने)
J—		देवानं	पिये	पियदसी	ला(जा)	—	—	—		—
S—		देवनं	प्रियो	प्रियद्रशि	रय	एवं	अह ति	(·—)		जनो
M—		देवन	प्रिये	प्रियद्रशि	रज	एवं	अह	(·—)		जने

G—	उचावचं	मंगलं	करोते	आबाधेसु वा (2)	आवाह—	विवाहेसु वा
K—	उचावुचं	मंगलं	(कले)ति	आबाधसि	अवाहसि	विवाहसि
D—	उचावुचं	मंग(लं	कलेति	(आबा)धे	—	वोवा—
J—	—	—	—	—	—	——
S—	उचवुचं	मंगलं	करोति	अबधे	अवहे	विवहे
M—	उचवुचं	(म)गलं	करोति (2)	अबधसि	अवहसि	विवहसि

G—	पुत्रलाभेसु वा	प्रवासंम्हि वा	(1)	एतम्ही च	अञम्हि	च
K—	पजोपदाये	पवाससि	(1)	एताये	अंनाये	चा
D—	(प)जोपदाये	पवाससि (7)	(1)	एताये	अंनाये	च
J—	(प)जुपदाये	पवाससि	(1)	एताये	अंनाये	च (15)
S—	पजुपदने	प्रवसे	(1)	एतये	अञये	(च)
M—	प्रजोपदये	प्रवसस्पि	(1)	एतये	अञये	च

G—		जनो	उचावचं	मंगलं	करोते	(1)	(3) एत	तु	महिडायो
K—	एदिसाये	जने	बहु	मगलं	कलेति	(1)	हेत	चु	अबकजनि(यो)
D—	हेदिसाये	जने	बहुकं	मंगलं	क(ले)ति	(1)	(एत)	(तु)	इथी
J—	हेदिसाये	जने	(बहुकं)	—	—	—	—	—	—
S—	एदिशि(ये)	(जनो)	(ब)—	मंगलं	करोति	(1)	अत्र	तु	स्त्रियक
M—	(एदि)श(ये)	(ज)ने	(3)बहु	मंगलं	(क)रोति	(1)	अ(त्र)	तु	बलिक-जनिक

G—	बहुकं	च	बहुविधं	च	छुदं	च	निरथं	च	मंगलं
K—	बहु	चा	बहुविधं	चा	खुदा	चा	निलथियां	चा	मगलं
D—	ब(हुकं)	च	(बहुविधं)	च	(खुदकं)	(च)	(निलठियं)	च	मंगलं
J—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	(मं)गलं
S—	वहु	च	बहुविधं	च	पुतिकं	च	निरथियं	च	मंगलं
M—	बहु	च	बहुविध	च	खुद	च	निरथिय	च	मगलं

G—	करोते	(।)		त	कतव्यमेव		तु		मंगलं	(।)	अपफलं
K—	कलंति	(।)	(25)	से	कटवि	चेव	खो		मंगले	(।)	अपफले
D—	कलेति	(।)	(8)	से	कटवियॆ	(चेव)	(खो)		(मग)ले	(।)	(अप)फले
J—	कलेति	—		से	कटवियॆ	चेव	खो		म(ग)ले	(।)	अप(फ)ले
S—	करोतं	(।)		सो	कटवो	(च)	खो		मंगल	(।)	अपफलं
M—	करोति	(।)		से	क(ट)वि	च	खो	(4)	(म)गले	(।)	अपफले

G—	तु	खो	(4)	एतरिसं	मंगलं	(।)	अयं	तु	महाफले	मंगले
K—	वु	खो		एसे		(।)	इयं	छु खो	महाफले	
D—	चु	खो		एस हेदिसे	मं(गले)	(।)	(इ)यं	(च खो)	(महा)फले	
J—	चु	(खो)		ए(स) (हेदिसे	म)—	(।)	—	—	—	
S—	तु	खो		एतं (।)			इमं	(तु) खो	महफल	
M—	चु	खो		ए(षे) (।)			इयं	चु खो	महफले	

G—	य	धंममंगले	(।)	तत			दासभतकम्हि	सम्यप्रतिपती
K—	ये	धंममगले	(।)	हे(ता)	इयं	(.—)	दासभटकसि	सम्यापटिपाति
D—	ए	(धं)ममं(ग)ले	(।)	(त)ते	स	(.—)	(दासभटकसि)	संम्यापटिपति (9)
J—	—	——		—			—(भट)कसि	संम्याप्रटिपति
S—	ए	(ध्र)ममंगलं	(।) (19)	(अ)त्र	इम(:—)		दसभटकस	सम्मप्रटिपति
M—	ए	ध्रममंगले	(।)	अत्र	इयं(:—)		दसभठकसि	सम्यपटिपति

G—	गुरूनं	अपचिति	साधु (5)	पाणेसु	सयम	साधु	बम्हणसमणानं
K—	गुलुना	अपचिति		पा(णा)नं	सयमे		समनबंभनानं
D—	गुलूनं	अप(चिति)	—	—	—(मे)		(सम)नबाभ(ना)नं
J—	गुलूनं	अपचि(ति)		पानेसु	स(य)मे (17)		सम(न)बाभना(नं)
S—	गरुन	अपचिति		प्रणनं	संयम		श्रमणब्रमणन
M—	गरु(न)	(अप)चिति(5)		प्रणन	स(य)मे		श्रमणब्रमणन

G— साधु दानं (।) एत च अञ च एतारिसं धंमसंगलं नाम (।)
K— दाने (।) एसे अंने चा हेडिसे तं धंममगले नामा (।)
D— दा(ने) (।) एस अंने च — — — (धम) मंग(ले)(ना)म
J— (ने) (।) एस अंने — — — — — (।)
S— दन (।) एतं अञं च ध्रमसंगलं नम (।)
M— (दने) (।) एषे अणे च एदिशे ध्रममगले नम (।)

G— त वतव्वं पिता व(6) पुतेन वा भाता वा स्वामिकेन वा(:—)
K— से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भाटिना पि सुवामिकेना पि
D— (त) वत— (पिति)ना — पु(ते)न पि भातिना पि(१०) सुवामिके(न) (पि)(·—)
J— — — — (पि)तिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन (पि)(:—)
S— सो वतवो पितुना पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि (स्प)मिकेन पि
M— से वतवि(ये) पि(तु)ना पि पुत्रेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन —(6)

G— इदं साधु इदं
K— मितसंथुतेना आव पटिवेसियेना पि (—)(26) इयं साधु इयं
D— — — —
J— इ(यं) (साधु) इयं
S— मि(त्र)संस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन (—) इमं सधु इमं
M— मित्रसंस्तुते(न) (अ)व पटिवेशियेन (:—) इयं सधु इ(यं)

G— कतव्वं मंगलं आव तस अथस निष्टानाय (।)
K— कटविये (म)गले आव तसा अथसा निवुतिया (।)
D— — — —(ले) आव तस अठस निफतिया (।)
J— कटवि(ये)(18) — — — — —
S— कटवो (मं)गल' यव तस अठस निवुतिय (।)
M— कटविये मगले अव तस अथ्रस निवु(टि)य (।)

G— अस्ति च पि वुतं (:—)(7) साधु दनं इति (।)
K— इमं कथमिति (१)
D— (अयि) (पि) (वं) वुते (:—) दाने सा(धू-)ति (।)
J— — — — — — —
S— निवुटस्पि व पन(१०) इमं के(ष)(केषं) (१)
M— निवुटसि व पुन इम केषमिति (१)

G— न तु एतारिसं अस्ति दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं
K— ए हिवले मगले मंसयिवये से(हाति) (।) मिया
D— से(नथि) — (अ)नुगहे वा (11) (आदिसे)
J— (से)दाने (अ)नुगहे वा आदि(से)
S— ये हि ए(त)के मगले सशयिके त (।) सिय
M— ए हि (अ)तके म—(6)शशयिके से (।) (सि)य

G— धंमदानं व धंमानुगहो व (।) त तु खो मित्रेन वा सुहदयेन
K— व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुन नो हिदलोकिके च व से (।)
D— (धं)मदाने धंम(नुगहे) —मि
J— धंमदाने धंमा(नु)गहे च (।) से चु खो मितेन (19)
S— वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पन इअलोकचे वो तिथे (।)
M— (व)तं अथ्ं निवटेय सिय पन नो हिद(लो)किके चे व से (।)

G— वा(8) ञतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितव्यं
K— इयं पुना धंममगले अकालिक्ये (।) हंचे पि तं अठं नो
D— (-तिकेन) सहाये(न) पि वियोवदि(तवि) (।)
J— — — — —
S— इय पुन ध्रममगलं अकलिकं (।) यदि पुन तं अठं न
M— इयं पुन ध्रममगले अकलिके (।) हचे पि तं अथ्ं न

G— तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे (—) इदं कचं इदं साध इति (।)
K— निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनत पुना पवसति (।)
D— -इ (त)सि पकलनसि (12) — — — —
J— — — — — — — यं —
S— निवटे हिअ (अ)थ परत्र अनतं पुञं प्रसवति (।)
M— निवटे ति (हिद) अ— परत्र(8) अनंतं पुञं प्रसवति (।)

G— इमिना सकं (9) स्वगं आराधेतु इति। किं चि इमिना
K— हंचे पुना त अठ निवतेति हिद ततो उभये(27)
D— — — — — (आला)धयितवे (।)
J— इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (।) किं हि इमेन
S— हंचे पुन (अठं निवटेति ततो उभयस
M— हचे (पुन) (तं) (अ)थ्ं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयस(व)

G— कतव्वतरं यथा स्वगारधि (।) (१०)
K— (ल)धे होति हिद चा से अठे पलता चा
D— —ट(वि) — — (स्वगस) आल(धी) (।) (१३)
J— कटवियतला (२०) (।) — — — —
S— लधं भोति इह च सो अठो परत्र च
M— (ल)धे (हो)ति हिद च से अथ्रे परत्र च

K—	अनंतं	पुंनं	पसवति	तेना	धंममंगलेना	(।)
S—	अनंतं	पुञं	प्रसवति	तेन	ध्रमंगलेन	(।)
M—	अनंतं	पुणं	प्रस(व)ति	तेन	ध्रमगलेन	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI TEXT)

देवप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा आह·—जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं करोति। आबाधे आबाहे विवाहे प्रजोत्पादे प्रवासे—एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिम् च एतादृशे जन. बहु मङ्गलं करोति। अत्र तु अम्बिका-जन्यः (अम्बिका-जनिका) बहु च बहुविधं च क्षुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं कुर्वन्ति। तत् कर्त्तव्यं चैव खलु मङ्गलम्। अल्पफलं तु (एव ?) खलु एतत्, इदं तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्ममङ्गलम्। अत्र इदं—दासभृतके(षु) सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरूणां अपचिति., प्राणानां संयमः, श्रमणब्राह्मणानां (तेभ्यः इत्यर्थं·) दानम्। एतत् अन्यत् च ईदृशं—तत् धर्ममङ्गलं नाम। तत् वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि पुत्रेण अपि भ्राता अपि स्वामिकेन अपि मित्र-संस्तुतेन अपि यावत् प्रतिवेश्येन अपि :—इदं साधु, इदं कर्त्तव्यं मङ्गलं यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य निर्वृतये (निर्वृति· इत्यर्थ·)। इदं कथं इति ? यत् हि अपरं मङ्गलं, साशयिकं तत् भवति—स्यात् वा तं अर्थं निर्वर्त्तयेत्, स्यात् पुन· न ; ऐहलौकिकं च एव तत्। इदं पुनः धर्ममङ्गलं अकालिकं (आकालिकं वा) तच्चेत् (=चेत्) अपि तं अर्थं न निर्वर्त्तयति (निष्ठापयति) इह, अथ परत्र अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते। तच्चेत् (=चेत्) पुन. तं अर्थं निर्वर्त्तयति इह, ततः उभयं लब्धं भवति—इह च सः अर्थः, परत्र च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते तेन धर्ममङ्गलेन।

N. B.—G, D and J versions contain the following additional passages after the word निर्वृतिः :—[अस्ति च अपि उक्तं—'साधु दानं' इति। न तु एतादृशं अस्ति दानं वा अनुग्रहः वा, यादृशं धर्मदानं वा धर्मानुग्रहः वा। तत् तु खलु मित्रेण वा सुहृदयेन (सुहृदा) वा ज्ञातिकेन वा सहायेन वा अववदितव्यं (व्यववदितव्यं) तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे—'इदं कृत्यं, इदं साधु' इति। अनेन शक्य· स्वर्गः आराधयितुं' इति। किं च अनेन (हेतुना इत्यर्थः) कर्तव्यतरं—यथा स्वर्गाराद्धिः (स्वर्गाराधनम् इत्यर्थः)]।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods said·—People observe diverse (high and low) ceremonies or ceremonial rites. In illness, at marriage of sons and marriage of daughters, birth of children and departure for journey—on these and such other occasions people observe many ceremonies. In such matter, the mothers and (other) women (capable of bearing children) perform many and manifold ceremonies which are petty (trivial) and useless (worthless). Ceremonies, however, are surely to be observed. But this kind bears little fruit. On the other hand, this sort namely the *Dharma*-ceremonial (i.e ceremonial of the Law of piety) bears great fruit. In this are included right treatment towards slaves and servants, reverence towards teachers, restraint (from injury) to living creatures, and charity towards (Buddhist) ascetics and Brāhmanas. These and other similar acts are what may be called *Dharmamangala* (i.e. the ceremonial of the Law of piety). Therefore, this ought to be said by a father, a son, a brother and a master (or a husband), a friend and an acquaintance, even by a neighbour—"This is excellent, and this is the ceremonial which should be performed until that purpose is accomplished". How is this? That which is the ceremonial of the other kind is dubious (in its effect)—it may accomplish that (desired) end or may not do (so), for, it pertains to this world. But this ceremonial of the Law of piety takes no account of time (either of this world or of the next) Even if it cannot accomplish that (desired) end in this world, it produces endless merit in the world after. If again it accomplishes that (desired) end here (in this world), then both gains are secured. namely, that (desired) end here and in the world beyond endless merit is produced on account of that ceremonial of the Law of piety.

N.B. The G, D and J versions contain the following additional passage after "That which is etc". And this is also said:—"Liberality (or charity) is excellent". But there is no such liberality or favour as the liberality of the Law of piety and the favour of the Law of piety. Therefore, by a friend (or an ally), a loving associate, a relative or a comrade should it be exhorted on this or that occasion—"this should be done, this is excellent. By this heaven can be won". For this reason, what else is to be better achieved than the gain of heaven?

WORD NOTES

(1) उचावुचं—Skt. उच्चावचं. Vide note on it R.E. VII.

(2) आबाधसि—In illness or distress.

(3) आवाहसि—Lit. in bringing home or inviting (a bride), hence in son's marriage. Cf. the use of the phrase आवाहविवाहाभ्यां in Kautilya IX, 6.

(4) विवाहसि—Lit. carrying home (a son-in-law), hence in daughter's marriage.

(5) अबकजनियो—Skt. अम्बिका-जन्यः, mothers and other women who can give birth to children. जनि.—a woman, a wife, a daughter-in-law. Cf. महीडायो (=Skt. महिला.) of G, स्त्रियक (Skt· स्त्रियः) of S, बलिकजनिक (=बालकजनिकाः mothers of children) of M, and इथी (=Skt. स्त्रियः) of M.

(6) निवुतिया—Skt. निर्वृतये, निर्वृति is fulfilment, completion, accomplishment. Cf निस्टानाय (Skt निष्ठानं or निष्ठा) of G, निवुटिय of S and M, and निफतिया (Skt निष्पत्तये).

(7) ये हिवले—Skt यत्+हि+अपर, हि+अवले (अपरं) by Pali *Sandhi*.

(8) संसयिक्ये—Skt. साशयिकं, of dubious effect.

(9) व से—एव+तत्. Cf. तिथे (=Skt तिष्ठेत्) of M.

(10) अकालिक्ये—Skt. अकालिकं or आकालिकं, unseasonable. अकालिकं used adverbially in महाभारत, immediately. But here the word means 'that which has no reference to particular time (either of this world or the world beyond) or 'which takes no account of proper or improper time'.

(11) निटेति—Skt. निष्ठापयति. cf. निवटे (निर्वर्त्तयेत्) of S.

(12) अठं—Stands for अथ of S It seems ठं is a mistake for थ.

(13) हंचे—A compound indeclinable in the sense of Skt. यदि (i.e. if, indeed, verily). Cf. हचे of M. हंचे=Pali सचे and Skt. तच्चेत्, if, though.

(14) अनन्तं पुना=Skt अनन्तं पुण्यं here.

(15) पवसति—Cf. प्रसवति of S and M (=Skt. प्रसूते).

(16) वुतं G—Skt. उक्तं (There is a Buddhist saying) 'सव्वदानं धम्मदानं जिनाति' (*Dhammapada*).

EDICT X (TEXT)

G—	देवानं		पि(प्रि)यो		पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा		यसो व कीति व न महाथावहा
K—	देवाणं	पिये	पियदषा	लाजा	यषो वा	किवि वा	नो महथावा
D—	-(वा)नं	पिये	पियदसी	(लाजा)	(यसो वा)	किटी वा	न (ठा हं)
J—	—	—	—		—	—	—
S—	देवन	प्रिये	प्रियद्रशि	रय	यशो व	किट्रि व	न महठवह
M—	—	प्रिये	प्रि(य)द्रशि	रज	यशो व	किटि व	न महथ्रवहं

G—	मंञते	अञत	—	—		—		—	तदात्पनो
K—	मनति	अनता	यं पि	यसो	वा	किति	वा	इछति	तदत्वाये
D—	मं(न)ते	—	—(पि)	(यसो	वा	कि)टी	वा	इछति	तदत्वाये
J—	—	—	—	यसो	वा	किटी	वा	इछति	तदत्वाये
S—	मञति	अञत्र	यो पि	यशो		किट्रि	व	इछति	तदत्तये
M—	मञति	अणत्र	यं पि	य(शो	व)	किटि	व	इछति	तदत्तये

G—	दीघाय	च	मे	जनो	(2)	धंमसुसुं(सू)सा	सुसुं(सू)सता	
K—	अयतिये	चा		जने		धंमसुसुषा	सुसुषातु	मे ति
D—	(अ)	—		जने	(14)	—सं	सु-(सतु	मे)
J—	आ(य)तिये	च		(ज)ने		धंमसु(सू)सं	सुसूसतु	मे (22)
S—	अयतिय	च		(जने)		ध्रमसुश्रुष	सुश्रुषतु	मे ति
M—	अयति(य)	चो		जने		ध्रमसुश्रुष	सु-(ष)तु	मे ति

G—	धंमवुतं	च	अनुविधियता		(।)	एतकाय	देवानं	पियो
K—	धंमवतं	वा	अनुविधियतु	ति	(।)	एतकाये	देवानं	पिये
D—	धंम —		—	(मे)	(।)	एतकाये		
J—	—		—	—		—	—	—
S—	ध्रंमवुतं	च	अनुवि(धियतु)		(।)	एतक्ये	देवनं	प्रिये
M—	-(10) (तं)		अनुविधियतु	ति	(।)	एतक्ये	देवन	प्रिये

G—	पियदसि	राजा	यसो	व	किति	व	इछति	(।) (3)	यं तु	किंचि
K—	पियदसि (28)	लाजा	यषो	वा	किति	वा	इछ	(।)	अं चा	किचि
D—			-य—		ती(वा)		—		—	—
J—	—		—		—		—		—	—
S—	प्रियद्रशि	रय	यशो	व	किट्रि	व (22)	(इछ)ति		यं तु	किचि
M—	प्रियद्रशि	रज	यशो	व	किटि	व	इछति	(।)	(ए तु)	किचि

G—	पराक्रमते	देवानं		प्रियदसि	राजा	त	सवं
K—	—लकमति	देवानं	पिये	पियदषि	लजा	त	षवं
D—	पलकमति	देवानं	पिये	—	—	—	—
J—	—ति	देवानं	पिये	—	—	—	—
S—	परक्रमति	देवनं	प्रियो	प्रियदशि	रय	तं	सव्रं
M—	परक्रम(ति)	देवन	प्रिये	प्रिय(द्र)शि	(रज	तं)	सव्रं

G—	पारत्रिकाय	(,)	किंति	(?)	सकले		अपपरिस्रवे
K—	पालतिकाये वा	(,)	किति	(?)	सकले		अपपलाषवे
D—	(पालतिकाये) (15)	(,)	किंति	(?)	(स)क(ले		अप)पलिसवे
J—	पालति(का)ये वा	(,)	(किं)ति	(?)	सकले		अपपलिसवे
S—	परत्रिकये व	(,)	किति	(?)	स(क)ले		अपरिस्रवे
M—	परि(त्रिकये व)	(;)	किति	(?)		(11)	अपपरिसवे

G—	अस	(।)		एस	तु	परिस्रवे	य	अपुंञं	(।)	(4)	दुकरं
K—	षिया ति ति	(।)		एसे	चु	पलिसवे	ये	अपुंने	(।)		दुक्ले
D—	(हुवेया)ति	(।)		—		पलिस		—			(दु)क(ले)
J—	हुवेया ति	(।)	(23)	—		—		—			—
S—	सिय ति			एषे	तु	परिस्रवे	यं	अपुञं	(।)		दुकरं
M—	सिय ति ति	(।)		एषे	तु	परिसवे	ए	(अपु)ञं	(।)		दुकरं

G—	तु	खो	एतं	छुदकेन	व	जनेन	उसटेन	व	अञत
K—	चु	खो	एषे	खुदकेन	वा	वगेन	उसुटेन	वा	अनत
D—		—		—		—	—		(त)
J—		—		—		—	—		—
S—	तु	खो	एषे	खुद्रकेन		वग्रेन	उसटेन	व	अञत
M—	चु	खो	एषे	खुद्रकेन	व	वग्रे(न	उस)टेन	व	अ(ञ)त्र

G—	अगेन	पराक्रमेन	सवं		परिचजितूपा	(।)	एत	तु	खो	
K—	अगेना	पलकमेना	षवं		पलितिदितु	(।)	हेत	चु	खो	(29)
D—	अगे	—(न)	सवं	च	पलितिजितु	(16)			—	
J—	—	——		—	(लि)तिजि(तु)		—	—	—	
S—	अग्रेन	परक्रमेन	सवं		परितिजितु	(।)	एतं	चु		
M—	अ(ग्रे)ण	परक्रमेन	सव्रं		परिति(जि)तु	(।)	ए	(तु	खो)	

G—						उसटेन		दुकरं	(।)
K—						उषटेन	वा	दुकले	(।)
D—	खुदकेन	वा	उस(टे)न	वा	(।)	उ(सटेन)	चु	दुकलत(ले)	(।)
J—	खु(द)केन	वा	उ(स)टेन	वा	(।)	उस(टे)न	चु	दुकलतले	(।)
S—						उसटे-			(।)
M—						उसटेन	व	दुक(र)	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

देवप्रिय· प्रियदर्शी राजा यश· वा कीर्ति वा न महार्थावहां मन्यते,—अन्यत्र यत् अपि यशः वा कीर्ति वा इच्छति—तदात्वे आयत्यां च जनः धर्म्मशुश्रूषां शुश्रूषतां मम इति, धर्म्मोक्तं (वा धर्म्मवृत्त) अनुविधीयतां (तेन) (अथवा अनुविधत्तां)। एतस्मै देवप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्ति वा इच्छति। यत् च किञ्चित् प्रक्रमते देवप्रिय· प्रियदर्शी राजा तत् सर्व्वं पारत्रिकाय एव, किं इति ? —सकलः (जन इत्यर्थः) अल्पपरिस्रवः स्यात् इति। एष तु परिस्रवः यत् अपुण्यम्। दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् क्षुद्रकेण वा वर्गेण उच्छ्रितेन (उत्कृष्टेन इत्यर्थ·) वा, अन्यत्र अग्र्येण (अग्र्यात्) प्रक्रमेण (प्रक्रमात्) सर्व्वं परित्यज्य। अत्र (अन्यत्र, एतत्) तु खलु उच्छ्रितेन (उत्कृष्टेन इत्यर्थ) वा (एव ?) दुष्करम्।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, does not consider renown (herein) or glory (hereafter) as leading to great gain (or value), except when he wishes for renown or glory that his people should hearken at present and in future to the Law of piety (as propounded) by me, and conform to my instruction in the Law of piety as given by me. For this purpose, King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, desires renown or glory. Whatever action King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, exerts for, all that is indeed for well-being in life hereafter. What is it? That all may have less trouble (risk or danger). That trouble or danger is demerit or vice. Verily it is difficult to attain such a state by the class of men of low or high rank except by the utmost exertion by giving up all (things). But this indeed is ever difficult for one of high rank.

WORD NOTES

(1) तदत्वाये अयतिये चा—Skt. तदात्वे आयत्या च. Cf. तदात्पनो G, तदत्तये S and M. Also cf. दीघाय G, अयतिय S, अयति M, and आयतिये in J. The phrase means 'at present and in future'. "तत्कालस्तु तदात्वं स्यात्, उत्तर· काल आयतिः" इत्यमर.. मेदिनी has "आयतिस्तु स्त्रिया दैर्घ्ये", दीघाय G means 'in future times'. Cf. Kauṭilya, v. 1. "आयत्यां च तदात्वे च क्षमावानविशङ्कितः"। Also "तदात्वे च आयात्या च" *Ibid* v. 4.

(2) पलिषवे—Skt. परिस्रवः. Cf. परिसवे G, S, M, and पलिसवे D and J. The word is from Skt. root स्रु to flow. Hence it means 'that which carries (men) afloat, hence the evil (of desires and passions)'. If the word is taken as equivalent to Pali परिस्सय (=Skt. परिश्रयः from Skt. root श्रि), it may mean pain, trouble, danger or risk, peril.

(3) उषुटेन—Skt. उच्छ्रितेन. Cf. उसटेन G, S, M, D and J, by a man of high rank, by a man who has attained eminence.

(4) पलितिदितु—It is a gerund here. Skt. परित्यज्य Cf. परिचजित्पा G, परितिजितु S, and पलितिजितु D.

EDICT XI (TEXT)

G—	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)यो	पियदसि	राजा	एवं	आह	(:)	नास्ति	एतारिसं
K—	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	हेवं	हा	(:)	नथि	हेडिषे
S—	देवनं	प्रियो	प्रियद्रशि	रय	एवं	अहति	(:)	नस्ति	एदिशं
M—	—	प्रिये	प्रियद्रशि	रज	एवं	अह	(:)	नस्ति	(ए)दिशे

G—	दानं	यारिसं	धंमदान	धंमसंस्तवो	वा
K—	दाने	(आ)दिषं	धंमदाने		
S—	दनं	यदिशं	ध्रमदनं	ध्रमसंस्तवे	
M—	दने	अदिशे	ध्रमदने	ध्रमस—वे	

G—	धंमसंविभागो व	धंमसंबधो	वा	(।) (2)	तत	इदं	भवति	(:)
K—	धंमषंविभगे	धंमषंवधे		(।)	तत	एषे		(:)
S—	ध्रमसंविभगो	(ध्र)मसंवंधो		(।)	तत्र	एतं		(:)
M—	(ध्र)मसंविभगे	ध्रम——धे (12)		(।)	तत्र	एषे		(:)

G—	दासभतकम्हि	सम्यप्रतिपती	मातरि पितरि साधु	सुस्रुसा
K—	दाषभटकषि	षम्यापटिपति	मातापितिषु	षुषुषा
S—	दसभटकनं	सम्मप्रटिपति	मतपितुषु	सुश्रुष
M—	दसभट—स	स(म्य)संपटिपति	मतपितुषु	

G—	मितसस्तुतञातिकानं	वाम्हणसमणान	साधु	दान	(3)
K—	मितसंथुतना(ति)क्यानं	समनवंभनानं		दाने	(30)
S—	मित्रसंस्तुतञतिकनं	श्रमणब्रमणान	(24)	दनं	
M—	—(13) संस्तुतञतिकन	श्रमणब्रमणान		दने	

G—	प्राणानं	अनारम्भो	साधु	(।)	एत	वतव्य	पिता	व	पुत्रेन	व
K—	पानानं	अनालंभे		(।)	एषे	वतविये	पितिना	पि	पुते	पि
S—	प्रणनं	अनरंभो		(।)	एतं	वतवो	पितुन	पि	पुत्रेन	पि
M—	प्रणन	अनरंभे		(।)	एषे	वतविये	पितुन	पि	पुत्रेन	पि

G—	भाता	व		मितसस्तुतञातिकेन व	आव	पटिवेसियेहि		(:)
K—	भातिना	पि	(ष)वामिक्येनापि	मितसंथुताना	अवा	पटिवेसियेना		(.)
S—	भ्रतुन	पि	(स)मिकेन पि	मित्रसंस्तुतेन	अव	प्रपिवेशियेन		(.)
M—	भतुन	पि	स्पमि— पि	मित्रसंस्तुतेन	अव	पटिवेशियेन	(14)	(:)

G—	इदं	साधु	इदं	कटव्यं (4)	(।)	सो	तथा	करु	इलोकच(स)	
K—	इयं	साधु	इयं	कटविये	(।)	शे	तथा	कलंत	हिदलोकिक्ये	च
S—	(इ)मं	सधु	इमं	कटवो	(।)	सो	तथ	करंतं	इअलोकं	च
M—	इयं	सधु	इयं	कटविये	(।)	से	त(थ)	करंतं	हिद(लो)क	च

G—		आराधो	होति	परत	च	अनंतं	पुञं	भवति		तेन
K—	कं	आलधे	होति	पलत	च	अनंत	पुना	पशवति		तेना
S—		अरधेति		परत्र	च	अनतं	पुञं	प्रसवति	(25)	(ते)न
M—		अरधे(ति)		—रत्र	च	अ(न)तं	पुणं	प्रसवति		—

G—	धंमदानेन	(।)
K—	धंमदानेन	(।)
S—	ध्रमदनेन	(।)
M—	(ध्र)मदनेन	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

देवप्रिय· प्रियेदर्शी राजा एवं आह ·—नास्ति ईदृशं दानं यादृशं धर्म्मदानं धर्म्मसविभाग· धर्म्मसम्बन्धः। तत्र एतत् (भवति इत्यर्थ·)—दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्ति·, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा, मित्रसंस्तुतज्ञातिकाना (तेभ्यः इत्यर्थ·) श्रमणब्राह्मणाना (तेभ्य· इत्यर्थ·) दानं, प्राणाना अनालम्भ· । एतत् वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि पुत्रेण अपि भ्रात्रा अपि स्वामिना अपि, मित्रसंस्तुताभ्या यावत् प्रतिवेश्येन—"इदं साधु, इदं कर्त्तव्यम्"। स· तथा कुर्व्वन् (तस्य तथा कुर्व्वतः इत्यर्थः) ऐहलोकिकं च कं (सुखं इत्यर्थः) आराधितं भवति, परत्र अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते तेन धर्म्मदानेन ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, thus says:—There is no such gift as is the gift of the Law of piety, (no such) distribution of the Law of piety and (no such) relationship through the Law of piety. Therein these (things) take place—right treatment towards slaves and servants, hearkening (or obedience) to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances and kinsmen and (also) to (Buddhist) ascetics (Śramanas) and Brāhmanas, and abstention from (sacrificial) slaughter of lives. This should be said by a father, a son, a brother, a master (or husband), a friend and an acquaintance, and even by a neighbour—"This is excellent, this should be done". For him (a man) thus acting, the bliss of this world is attained and endless merit accrues (to him) in the world beyond on account of this gift of the Law of piety.

WORD NOTES

(1) हेडिषे—Skt. ईदृशं. Cf एतारिसं (Skt. एतादृशं) G, एदिशं (Skt. ईदृशं) S.

(2) आदिषं—Skt. यादृशं Cf यारिस G, यदिशं S, अदिशे M.

(3) धंमषंविभगे—Skt. धर्म्मसंविभागः. Cf. धंमसंविभागो G, ध्रमसंविभगो S and ध्रमसंविभगे M. संविभाग means distribution or disposal of (things given).

(4) पितिना—Skt. पित्रा Cf. पिता (=पित्रा) G, पितुन S and M.

(5) षवामिक्येन—Skt. स्वामिकेन. Cf. समिकेन S.

(6) पटिवेसियेना—Skt. प्रतिवेश्येन, by a neighbour. Cf. पटिवेसियेहि G (Inst. pl.), प्रतिवेशियेन S and पटिवेशियेग M.

(7) कलंत—Skt. कुर्व्वन्. करु G=either कुर्व्वन्, or more properly कृत्वा.

(8) कं—In Skt. it means happiness. 'सुख-शीर्ष-जलेषु कम्" इति मेदिनी. Cf. करंतं S and M.

(9) हिदलोकिक्ये—Skt ऐहलौकिकं. G has इलोकं and S इअलोक.

(10) आलधे—Skt. आराधितं (pp. of आ+राध). Cf आरधो G, अरधेति S and M (=Skt. आराध्यते)

(11) This Edict does not occur in D and J.

ROCK EDICT XII (TEXT)

G—	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	राजा	सव	पासंडानि	च	पवजितानि च
K—	देवाना	पिये	पियदषि (31)	लाजा	षवा	पाषंडनि		पवजितानि
S—	देवनं	प्रियो	प्रियद्रशि	रय	सत्र	प्रषंडनि		प्रव्रजित
M—	देवन	प्रिये	प्रियद्रशि	रज	सत्र	प्रषडनि		प्रव्रजितनि

G—	घरस्तानि	च	पूजयति	दानेन	च	विविधाय	च	पूजाय	पूजयति ने	(।)
K—	गहथानि	वा	पुजेति	दानेन		विधिधेन	च	(पूजा)ये		(।)
S—	ग्रह(ठ)नि	च	पुजेति	दनेन		विविधये	च	पूजये		(।)
M—	ग्रहथनि	च	पुजेति	दनेन		विविधये	च	पूजय		(।)

G—	न	तु	तथा	दानं	व	पूजा	व	देवानं	पियो	मंञते	यथा
K—	नो	चु	तथा	दाने	वा	पुजा	वा	देवानं	पिये	मनति	अथा
S—	नो	चु	तथ	दनं	व	पुज	व (2)	देवनं	प्रियो	मञति	यथ
M—	नो	(चु)	तथ	दन	व	पुज	व (2)	देवनं	प्रिये	मञति	अथ

G—	किति (?)	सारवढी	अस	सवपासंडानं	(।)	सारवढी	तु	बहुविधा(3)	(।)
K—	कित (?)	शालवढि	शियाति	शवपशिंडानं	(।)	सालवढि	ना	बहुविधा	(।)
S—	किति (?)	सलवढि	सिय	सव्रप्रषंडनं	(।)	सालवढि	तु	बहुविध	(।)
M—	किति (?)	सलवढि	सिय	सव्रप्रषडन ति	(।)	सलव्र्ढि	तु	बहुविध	(।)

G—	(3) तस तस	तु	इदं	मूलं	य	वचिगुती (,)	किंति (?)	आत्पपासंडपूजा	व
K—	तश	चु	इयं	मुले	(अ)	वचगुति (;)	किति (?) त	अतपाशंडे पुजा	
S—	तस	तु	इयो	मुल	यं	वचगुति (;) (3)	किति (?)	अतप्रषंडपुज	व
M—	तस	चु	इयं	मुले	अं	वचगुति (;) (3)	किति (?)	अतप्रषपुज	व

G— परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अपकरणम्हि लहुका व अस(4) तम्हि तम्हि
K— पलपाशंडगलहा व नो शया(32) अपकलनसि लहुका वा शिया तशि तशि
S— परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अप्रकरनसि लहुक व सिय तसि तसि
M— परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि (त)सि

G— प्रकरणे (।) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन त(ते)न प्रकरणेन (।)
K— पकलनशि (।) पुजेतविय चु पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (।)
S— प्रकर(णे) (।) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रष(4)(ड) तेन तेन (अ)करेन (।)
M— पकरणसि (।) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन (4) अकरेन (।)

G— एवं करुं आत्पपासंडं च वढयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति (5) (।)
K— हेवं कलत अतपशडा बाढं वढियति पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (।)
S— एवं क(रें)तं (अ)तप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषडस पि च उपकरोति (।)
M— एवं करतं अत्मपषड बढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (।)

G— (5) तदंञथा करोतो आत्पपासंडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि
K— तदा-अंनथा कलत अतपाशड च छनति पलपशड पि वा
S— तद-अञथ क(रत च) अतप्रषंडं(5) छणति परप्रषंडस च
M— तदञथं करतं अत्मपषड च छणति परपषडस पि च

G— अपकरोति (।) यो हि कोचि आत्मपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं वा
K— अपकलेति (।) ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुन(ज)ति (33) पलपाषड वा
S— अपकरोति (।) यो हि (को)चि अतप्रषडं पुजेति परप्रषड
M—(5) अपकरोति (।) ये हि केचि अत्मपषड पुजेति परपषड व

G— गरहति (6) सवं आत्पपाषडभतिया (,) किंति (?) आत्पपासंडं
K— ग(ल)हति षवे अतपाषं(ड)भतिया वा (,) किति (?) अतपाषंड
S— गरहति सत्रे अतप्रषडभतिय व (,) किति (?) (6) अतप्रषंडं
M— गरहति सत्रे अत्मप्रषडभतिय ध (,) किति (?) अत्मपषड

G— दीपयेम इति (;) सो च पुन तथ करातो
K— दिपयेम (,) षे च पुना तथा कलंतं
S— दिपयमि ति (;) सो च पुन तथ करंतं सो च पुन तथ करतं
M— दिपयम ति (,) — — पुन तथ करतं(6)

G—	आत्पपासंडं	वाढतरं	उपहनाति	(।)	
K—		बाढतले	उपहंति	अतपाषंडम्हि	(।)
S—		वढतर	उपहंति	अतप्रपडं	(।)
M—		बढतरं	उपह(न)ति	आत्मपपड	(।)

G—	त समवायो	एव	साधु	(.)	(7)	किंति	(?)	अंञमंञस	धंमं
K—	समवाये	व	षाधु	(;)		किति	(?)	अंनमनषा	धमं
S—	सो सयमो	वो	मधु	(;)		किति	(?)	अञमञस	ध्रमो
M—	से समवयो	व	सधु	(;)		किति	(?)	अणमणस	ध्रमं

G—	सुणारु	च	सुसुसेर	च	(।)	एवं	हि	देवानं	पियस	इछा	(.—)
K—	षुशेयु	चा	षुषुषेयु	चा ति	(।)	हेवं	हि	देवानं	पियषा	इछा	(:—)
S—	(7)श्रुणेयु	च	सुश्रुषेयु	च ति	(।)	एवं	हि	देवनं	प्रियस	इछ	(:—)
M—	श्रुणेयु	च	सुश्रुषेयु	च ति	(।)	ए(वं)	हि	देवनं	प्रियस	इछ	(.—)

G—	किंति	(?)	सवपासंडा	बहुस्रुता	च	असु	कलाणागमा	च	असु	(।)
K—	किति	(?) (34)	सवपाषंड	बहुषुता	चा		कयानागा	च	हुवेयु ति	(।)
S—	किति	(?)	सव्रप्रषंड	बहुश्रुत	च		कल(ण)गम	च	सियसु	(।)
M—	किति	(?)	सव्रपषड	बहुश्रुत	च	(7)	कयणगम	च	हवेयु ति	(।)

G—	(8) ये	च	तत्र	तते	प्रसंना	तेहि	वतव्यं	(—)	देवानं	पियो
K—	ए	च	तत	तता	पषंन	ते(हि)	वतविये	(—)	देवाना	पिये
S—	ये	च	तत्र	तत्र (8)	प्रसन	तेषं	वतवो	(:—)	देवनं	प्रियो
M—	ए	च	तत्र	तत्र	प्रसन	तेहि	वतविये	(—)	देवन	प्रिये

G—	नो	तथा	दानं	व	पूजा	व	मंञते	यथा	किंति	(?)
K—	नो	तथा	दानं	वा	पुजा	वा	मंनति	अथा	किति	(?)
S—	न	तथ	दनं	व	पुज	व	मञति	यथ	किति	(?)
M—	(नो)	(त)थ	दनं	व	पुज	व	मणति	अथ	किति	(?)

G—	सारवढी	अस	सर्वपासडानं	बहका	च	(।)	एताय (9)	अथा
K—	षालवढि	शिया	षवपाषंडतिं(नं ति)	बहुका	चा	(।)	एतायाठाये	
S—	सलवढि	सिय ति	सव्रप्रषडनं	(बहु)क	च	(।)	एतये	अ—
M—	सलवढि	सिय	सव्रपषड(न)(8)	(बहु)क	च	(।)	एतये	अथ्रये

G—		व्यापता	धंममहामाता	च	इथीझखमहामाता च
K—		वियापटा	धंममहामाता		इथिधियखमहामाता
S—	(9)	वपट	(ध्र)मम(ह)मत्र		इ(त्रिधि)यछमहमत्र
M—		वपुट	ध्रममहमत्र		इत्रि(झ)छमहमत्र

G—	वचभूमीका	च	अञे	च	निकाया	(।)		अयं	च	एतस	फल		य
K—	वचभुमिक्या		अने	वा	निकाया	(।)	(35)	इयं	च	एतिषा	फले		यं
S—	वचभुमिक		अञे	च	निकये	(।)		इमं	च	एतिस	फलं		यं
M—	व्रचतुमिक		अञे	च	निकय	(।)		हयं	च	एतिस	फले	(9)	यं

G—	आत्पपासंडवढी	च	होति		धंमस	च	दीपना	(।)
K—	अतपापंडवढि	चा	होति		धमष	चा	दिपना	(।)
S—	अतप्रषडवढि		(भोति)	(10)	ध्रमस	च	दिपन	(।)
M—	अत्मपषडवढि	च	भोति		ध्रमस	च	दिपन	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI TEXT)

देवप्रिय प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व्वपापण्डान् प्रव्रजितान् गृहस्थान् वा पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया। न तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवप्रियः मन्यते यथा—किं इति ? सारवृद्धि· स्यात् इति सर्व्वपाषण्डानाम्। सारवृद्धिः नाम (तु, अन्यत्र) बहुविधा। तस्या· तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः। किं इति ? तत् आत्मपाषण्डपूजा परपाषण्डगर्हा वा न स्यात् अप्रकरणे, लघुका वा स्यात् तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे। पूजयितव्याः तु परपाषण्डाः तेन तेन आकारेण। एवं कुर्व्वन् आत्मपाषण्डं वर्द्धयति परपाषण्डं अपि वा उपकरोति। ततः अन्यथा कुर्व्वन् आत्मपाषण्डं च क्षिणोति, परपाषण्डं अपि वा अपकरोति। य· हि कश्चित् आत्मपाषण्डं पूजयति, परपाषण्डं वा गर्हते (गर्हयति वा)—सर्व्वं (तत् इत्यर्थः) आत्मपाषण्डभक्त्या एव—किं इति ? —"आत्मपाषण्डं दीपयेम" इति—स· च पुनः तथा कुर्व्वन् बाढतरं उपहन्ति आत्मपाषण्डम्। तत् समवाय· एव साधुः, किं इति ? अन्योन्यस्य धर्म्मं शृणुयु· च शुश्रूषेरन् च इति। एवं हि देवप्रियस्य इच्छा—किं इति ? सर्व्वपाषण्डा· बहुश्रुताः च कल्याणागमाः च भवेयु· इति। ये वा तत्र तत्र प्रसन्नाः, तैः वक्तव्यं—देवप्रियः न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते, यथा—किं इति ? सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्व्वपाषण्डानां (इति) बहुका च। एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्म्ममहामात्राः स्त्र्यध्यक्षमहामात्राः व्रजभूमिकाः अन्ये वा निकायाः। इदं च एतस्य फलं यत् आत्मपाषण्डवृद्धिः च भवति, धर्म्मस्य च दीपना।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, shows reverence to people of all (religious) sects, whether (wandering) ascetics or householders with gifts and various kinds of reverence. But (the king,) the Beloved of the Gods does not consider so much for gifts or reverence as that—what is it ?—there should be a growth of the essence in all sects. But this growth of the essence has many aspects. But this is the root of that—namely, restraint of speech. What is that? That there should not be reverence (by over-rating) to one's own sect and disparagement (by under-rating) of others' sects when no topic or occasion arises, or, they should be small (indeed) when this or that occasion arises As all the other sects deserve reverence for this or that reason (or in different manners) By doing thus one promotes one's own sect and at the same time does good to other sects. By acting otherwise one injures (lit. makes an end of) one's own sect and does ill to other sects That person who does reverence to his own sect and disparages other sects—does all this only out of attachment to his own sect—and why so?—with the intent that he should elevate his own sect. That (person) again by acting thus injures very greatly (or severely) his own sect. So contact however, is a good thing. How so? So that (people belonging to different sects) may hear and willingly hear the Law (of piety as adopted) by one another. For, thus, the desire of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods is—what is it ?—that men belonging to all sects may become versed in many lores and stick to virtuous deeds. Whoever are faithful to particular systems (of creed) should tell others that (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, does not so much care for gifts and (forms of) reverence—how so ?—as that there should be growth of the essence in all sects and that to a large extent also. For this purpose the High State-functionaries in the Law of piety were appointed, as also ministers of the type of supervisors over the women and Officers-in-charge of the settlements of herdsmen and also other groups (of officials). And this is the fruit of such an arrangement—namely, the growth of one's own sect and the illumination (or glorification) of the Law of piety.

WORD-NOTES

(1) पाषंडनि—Skt. पाषण्डा᳚. Cf पासंडानि G, प्रषंडनि S and प्रसडनि M. This word represents the meaning of any religious sect—Buddhist or non-Buddhistic. The two phrases (in Skt.) आत्मपाषण्डपूजा and परपाषण्ड-गर्हा stand as clear evidence to such a meaning. Even the Buddhistic पाषण्ड may be called one's own sect and in that case, all other (non-Buddhistic) sects may be called sects of other creeds.

(2) वचगुति—Skt वचोगुप्ति.. Cf. वचिगुती G, वचगुति S and M, keeping one's word to one-self, hence restraint of speech.

(3) पकलनशि—Skt. प्रकरणे. Cf प्रकरणे G and S, and पकरणसि M. In a (particular) context, occasion or topic.

(4) कलत—Skt. कुर्व्वन्. Cf. करु (कुर्व्वन् or better कृत्वा, a gerund), करंतं S and करतं M.

(5) छनति—Skt. क्षिणोति Cf छणति G, S and M. From Skt. root क्षि, to destroy, ruin or injure. In some old dialects even the initial क्ष of Skt. becomes छ.

(6) पुनति—Its corresponding forms in G is पूजयति and पुजेति in S and M. Probably it is a mistake for पुजेति or पुजति

(7) दिपयेम—Skt. दीपयेम. G has दीपयेम Cf दिपयमि of S. The root दीप् here conveys the sense of glorification or making illustrious or illuminating (figuratively) Also cf the wotd दीपना of G and दिपन of S and M.

(8) समवाये—Skt. समवाय॰. Cf. समवायो of G, and समवये of M. But S has instead the word सयमो (=संयम). The word समवाय॰ (सं + अव + इ) in the present context should mean 'a meeting, a contact, a congress and not 'concord' as some scholars think.

(9) अंनमनषा—Skt अन्योन्यस्य. Cf. अंनमंनस G, अनमनस S and अणमणस M. The Pali phrase is अञ्ञमञ्ञ or अञ्ञोञ्ञ. mutually, one another.

(10) बहुषुता—Skt बहुश्रुताः. Cf. बहुसुता G, बहुशुत S and बहुश्रुत M. Versed in many lores, well-informed, or those who have studied much. श्रुत =शास्त्र॰ cf. "श्रुतं शास्त्रावधृतयोः" इत्यमर॰.

(11) पषंन—Skt. प्रसन्नाः. Cf. प्रसंना G, प्रसन S and M Faithful to their own creeds. प्रसाद in Buddhist literature means 'faith'.

(12) इथिधियख-महामाता—Skt. स्त्र्यध्यक्ष-महामात्रा॰. Cf इथीझख-महामाता G, इस्त्रिधियक्ष-महामात्रा S and इस्त्रिझक्षमहमत्र M. These officers were later (than R.E.V) instituted to look after the morals of the women.

(13) वचभुमिक्याः—Skt व्रजभूमिका, cf. वचभूमीका G, वचभुमिक S and व्रचभुमिक M. Do these officials have any reference to the विवीताध्यक्ष's, superintendents of the pasture-lands (as described in Kautilya's अर्थशास्त्र, BK II. 34)? The root व्रज् in Pkt. becomes वच्च् (व्रजति =वच्चति by the प्राकृतप्रकाश rule, "च्चो व्रजनृत्योः",

(14) निकाया—Skt. निकायाः, groups, classes, associations Cf. निकये S and निकय M.

(15) This Edict also does not occur in J and D.

EDICT XIII (TEXT)

G—	—	—	—	—	ओ
K—	अठवषाभिसितेषा	देवानं	पियष	पियदषिने	लाजिने
S—	अ(स्तव)ष-अभिसित(स)	(दे)वन	प्रिअस	प्रिअद्रशि(स)	रञो
M—	— —	—	—	—	—

G—	कलिंगा	(विजि)	—	—	—	—	—
K—	कलिग्या	विजिता	(।)	दियढमाते	पानषतषहशे	ये	तफा
S—	क(लिग)	(विजित)	(।)	(दियध)मत्ते	(प्रणशतम)हस्रे	ये	ततो
M—	(कलिग)	—	—य—	—	प्रणश——	—	—

G—	—ढे	सतसहस्रमात्र	तत्रा	हतं	बहुतावतकं		मतं	(।)
K—	अपवुढे	शतषहषमाते	तत	हते	बहुतावंतके	वा	मटे	(।)
S—	अपवुढे	शतसहस्र(म)त्रे	तत्र	हते	बहु(तवतके)		मुटे (2)	(।)
M—	—	—	—	—	—		—	

G—		तता		पछा	अधना	लधेसु	कलिंगेसु	तीवो
K—		तता		(प)छ	अधुना	लधेषु	कलिग्येषु	तिवे
S—		ततो		(प)छ	अधुन	लधेषु	(कलिगेषु)	तिव्रे
M—	—		(2)	पछ	अधुन	ल(धे)षु	क(लिगे)षु	—

G—	धंमवा(यो)	(2)	—	—	—	—
K—	धंमवाये	(36)	धंमकामता	धंमानुषथि	चा	देवानं
S—	ध्रम(पलनं)		ध्रम(क)मत	ध्रमनुशति	च	देवन
M—	—		—	—म(नु)श(ति)	च	—

G—	—		—	—	—सयो	देवानं	प्रियस	विजि—
K—	पियपा	(।)	षे	अथि	अनुषये	देवानं	पिय(षा)	विजिनितु
S—	प्रियस	(।)	सो	अस्ति	अनुसोच(नं)	देवन	प्रियस	विजिनि(तु)
M—	—		—	—	—	—		—

G—	—			—	—	—		वधो	व
K—	कलिंग्यानि	।		अविजितंहि	विजिनमने	ए	तता	वधं	वा
S—	(क)लिग(नि)	।	(3)	अविजितंहि	(विजि)नम(नि)	(ये)	तत्र	वधो	व
M—	—			—	—		— (3)		—

G—	मरण	व	अपवाहो	व	जनस	(,)	तं	वाढं	वेदनमतं
K—	मलने	वा	अपवहे	वा	जनषा	(,)	षे	वाढ	वेदनियमुते
S—	(म)रणं	व	अपव(हो)	व	जनस	(,)	त	वढं	वेदनियमतं
M—	—	—	(अपव)हे	व	(जन-)	(,)	से	—	वेदनियम(तं)

G—	च	(गु)रुमतं	च	देवा(नं)	—(स)	(3)		—		—
K—		गुलुमुते	चा	देवानं	पिय(षा)	(।)	इयं	पि	चु	ततो
S—		गुरुमतं	च	देवनं	प्रियस	(।)	इमं	पि	चु	ततो—
M—		—	—		—	—		—		—

G—	—	—	—	—			—		—	बाम्हणा
K—	गलुमततले	देवानं	पियषा	(37)	(।)		(स)वता		वषति	बंभना
S—	गुरुमत(त)रं	(देव)नं	प्रियस		(।)	तत्र	हि	(4)	वसंति	श्रमण
M—	—	—	—			—			—	—

G—	व	समणा	व	अञे	—	—	—			—	
K—	व	षम(ना)	वा	अने	वा	पाशंड	गिहिथा	वा	येशु	विहिता	एष
S—	व	श्रमण	व	अंञे	व	प्रषंड	ग्र(ह)थ	व	येसु	विहित	एष
M—	—		—	—		—	—	—(4)		—	एष

G— — —सा मातापितरि सुसु(')सा गुरुसुसूसा
K— अगभु(त)— सुसुषा माताभिति— सुसुषा गलुसुसुष
S— अग्रभुटि— सुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुनं सुश्रुष
M— अग्रभु— सुश्रुष मतपि(तु)षु (सुश्रुष) गुरु-सुश्रुष

G— मितसंस्तुतसहायञातिकेषु दास(भ) — (4) —
K— मितषंथुतषहायनातिकेषु दाशभ(त)कषि षम्यापटिपति —
S— (मित्र)संस्तुतसहाय (5)-ञतिकेषु (दा)सभ(ट)कनं सम्मप्रतिपति —
M— मि(त्रसंस्तु) — — — —

G— — — — — — —
K— दिढभतिता (।) तेषं तता होति (उ)पघाते वा वधे वा
S— दिढ(भतित) (।) तेषं तत्र भोति अपग्रथो व वधो व
M— — — — (5) —— व

G— अभिरतानं व विनिखमणं (।) येस वा पि
K— अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने (।) (38) येष वा पि (षं)विहितान
S— अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (।) ये(ष) व पि संविहितनं
M— (अभिरतनं) व विनिक्रमणे (।) येष व (पि) संवि(हित)नं

G— — — — —(हा)यञातिका व्यसनं
K— षिनेहे अविपहिने एतान मितशंथुतपहायनातिक्य वियषने
S— (ने)हो अविप्रहिनो ए(ते)ष (मि)त्रसंतुतसहयञतिक वसन
M— सिनेहे अविप्रहि(ने) (ए)त— मित्रसं ——— —

G— प्रापुणाति (।) तत्र सो पि तेसं उपघातो होति (।) पटीभागो
K— पापुनाति (।) तत षे पि (ता)नमेव उपघाते होति (।) पटिभागे
S— (6) प्रपुणाति (।) तत्र त पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (।) प्रतिभगं
M— (6) — — — — — — —

G— चेसा स(व)— (सान) — — — —
K— चा एष षव— मनु(षानं) गुलुमते चा देवानं पियषा (।)
S— च एतं सत्रं मनुशन गुरुमतं च (देव)न प्रियस (।)
M— — सत्रं मनुशनं गुरुमते च (देव)नं प्रियस (।)

G— —स्ति इमे निकाया अञत्र
K— नथि चा षे जनपदे यता नथि इमे निकाया आनंता
S— — — — — —— ——
M— नस्ति च से जनपदे य(त्र) नस्ति इमे निकय अ—

G— योनेस — — — — — —
K— येनेष (39) बंह्मने चा षमने चा (,) नथि चा
S— — — — — — —
M— येनेष (व्रमण) (च) श्र(म)— — —

G— — — —(म्हि) यत्र नास्ति मनुसानं एकतरम्हि
K— कुवा पि जनपदषि (य)ता नथि मनुषानं एकतलषि
S— — — — — नस्ति च — एकतरस्पि
M— — पि (जन)—सि — — — — —

G— — पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसा(दो) (।) — यावतको
K— पि पाषडषि नो नाम पषादे (।) षे आवतके
S— पि प्रषडस्पि न नम प्रसदो (।) सो यमत्रो
M— — — (7) न नम प्रसदे (।) से यवतके

G— ज(नो) तदा (6) — — — — —
K— जने तदा कलिंगेषु (लधे)षु हते च मटे चा अपवुढे चा तता
S— (जनो) तद कलिगे हतो च मु(टो) च अपवु(ढो) च (त)तो
M— जने तद कलिगेषु (हते च) — — (अ)पवुढे च (तत)

G— — —स्रभागो व गरुमतो देवानं
K— (7) षते भागे वा षहषभागे वा अज गुलुमते वा देवानं
S— शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनं
M— शतभगे व सहस्रभगे अज गुरुम(ते) — व—

G— — — — — — — —
K— पियसा (40) — — — — — —
S— प्रियस (।) यो पि च अपकरेय ति छमितवियमते वो देवानं
M— प्रियस (।) — — — —क— — (छ)मितवि (8) — —

G— —न य सकं छमितवे (।) या च पि अटवियो देवानं
K— — — — — — —
S— प्रियस यं शको छमनये (।) य पि च अटवि देवनं
M— — — — (य) पि च अटवि देवनं

G— प्रियस पि(वि)जिते पा(भो)ति (7) — — — —
K— — — — — — — —
S— प्रियस (वि)जिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनि(भ)पेति (,) अनुतपे
M— प्रियस विजितसि (हो)ति (त) पि अनुनयति अनु(निभ)पयति ( ) अनु(त)पे

G— — — — (वु)चते तेन देवना पिय (2)
K— — — — — — — — —
S— पि च (प्र)भवे देवन प्रियस (।) वुचति तेष (:—) किति (2)
M— पि च प्रभवे देव(नं प्रियस (।) वुचति (तेष) (:—) — —

G— — — — — — —— —
K— — — — —नेयु (।) इछ — — —
S— अपत्रपेयु न च हंञेयसु (।) इछति हि देवनं प्रियो
M— — — — — — —वनं प्रि(ये)

G— सवभूतानं अछति च सयमं च समचेरा च
K— (4) षवभु— — — षयम समचलियं
S— सत्रभुतन अछति सयम समचरियं
M— (9) — — — —

G— मादवं च (8) (।) — — — —
K— मदव ति (।) इयं वु मु — — (5) देवानं —
S— रभसिये (।) एषे च मु(ख)मुते विजये (दे)वनं
M— — — — मुते विजये (दे)वनं

G— — — — — — — लघो — नं
K— पियेषा ये धंमविजये (।) षे च पुना लघे देवानं
S— प्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (।) सो च पुन लघो देवनं
M— प्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (।) (से च पुन लघे दे)वनं

G—	प्रियस	इध			(सवेसु	च)	—		—	—	———
K—	पि—	(द)	च	(6)	षवेषु	च	(अ)तेषु		अ	षषु	(पि)
S—	प्रियस	इह	च		स(व्रे)षु	च	अंतेषु	(9)	अ	षषु	पि
M—	प्रियस	हिद	च		सव्र षु	च	अंतेषु		अ	षषु	पि

G—	—	—	—	—	योनराजा		परं	च	तेन
K—	योजनषतेषु	अत	अतियोगे	नाम	योन—		पलं	चा	तेना
S—	योजनश(ते)षु	यत्र	अंतियोको	नाम	योनरज		परं	च	तेन
M—	(यो)—(ते)षु	—	—यो(को)	न(म)	(यो)न—	(10)	—	—	—

G—			चत्पारो		राजानो	तुरमायो	च	अंतेकिना	च
K—	(7)	अंतियोगेना	चतालि	4	लजाने	तुलमये	नाम	अंतेकिने	
S—		अंतियोकेन	चतुरे	4	रजनि	तुरमये	नम	अंतिकिनि	
M—		—	—	—	—	—		——	

G—		मगा	च	(9)	—	—	—	—
K—	(ना)म	मका	ना(8)म		अलिक्यषुदले	नाम	(,)	निचं
S—	नम	मक	नम		अलिकसुदरो	नम	(,)	निच
M—	—	(मक)	नम		अलिकसु(दरे)	नम	(,)	(नि)चं

G—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
K—	चोड-पंडिया		अवं	तंबपंनिया	(,)	हेवमेव	हेवमेवा	
S—	चोड-पंड		अव	तबपंनिय	(,)		एवमेव	
M—	चोड-पंडिय		अ	तंबपंनिय	(,)		एवमेव	

G—		इध	राजविसयम्हि	योने-कं(बो)	—	—	—	—
K—	(9)	(हि)द	राजाविशवषि	योन-कंबोजेषु	नाभके		नाभपंतिषु	
S—		हिद	रजविषवस्पि	योन-कंबोयेषु	नभके		न(भि)तिन	
M—		—	रजविषवस्पि	योन-कं—षु	(नभ)के		(न)भपंतिषु	

G—		—	—		(अं)ध—(पि)रिदेसु			सवत	देवानं
K—		भोज—पितिनिक्ये(षु)		(10)	अध—	(पुल)देषु		षवता	देवानं
S—	(10)	भोज—पितिनिकेषु			अंध्र—	पुलि(दे)षु		सवत्र	देवनं
M—		(भो)ज—पितिनि(के)षु			अ ध—	(पु)	—	—	(11)

G— पियस धंमानुसस्टिं अनुवतरे (।) यत पि दूति (10) ———
K— पि(य)षा धंमानुषथि अनुवतंति (।) (य)त पि दूता (11) देवानं पियमा
S— प्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटति (।) यत्र पि देवन प्रियस दुत
M— — — — — — — —

G— — — — — — — —
K— नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानं पियषा (धं)मवुतं विधनं
S— न व्रचंति ते पि श्रु(तु) देवनं प्रियस ध्रमवुतं विधेनं
M— नो (यं)ति ते पि श्रुतु देवनं प्रियस ध्रमवुतं विधनं

G— धमानुसस्टिं च धम अनु(विधि)य— — ——
K— (12) धंमानुसथि धंमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिसंति चा (।)
S— ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं (अनु)विधियति अनुविधियिसंति च (।)
M— ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधि(यिसंति च) (।)

G— विजयो सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सो (।)
K— ये से (ल)धे(13) एतकेना होति सवता (विज) ये पितिलसे से (।)
S— यो (च) लधे एतकेन भोति सवत्र विजयो स(वत्र पुन)(11)विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (।)
M— (ये) — — (ए)तकेन होति विज(ये) — — — —

G— लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि (11) (।) — — — —
K— ग(ल)धा सा होति पिति धंमविजय(14)षि (।) लहुका वु खो सा
S— लध (भोति) प्रिति ध्रमविजयस्पि (।) लहुक तु खो स
M— — — — — — ——

G— — — — — — — (नं) प्रियो (।)
K— पिति (।) पालंतिक्यमेवे महफला मंनं(ति) देवनं पिने(ये) (।)
S— प्रिति (।) परत्रिकमेव महफल मेञति देवनं प्रियो (।)
M— — (12) — — — — प्रिये (।)

G— एताय अ—(य अयं धंमलि—) — — — —
K— (15) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता (,) किति (?)पुता
S— एताये च अठये अयो ध्रमदिपि निपि(स्त) (;) किति (?) पुत्र
M— (एताये) अ(थ्र)ये इयं ध्रम— लिखित (;) किति (?) पुत्र

G—	—	—	—	—	—वं	विजयं	मा	विजेतव्वं	मञा	(;)
K—	पापोत	मे	अ—	(16)	नवं	विजय	म	विजयंतविय	मनिषु	(,)
S—	पपोत्र	मे	असु		नवं	विजय	म	विजेतवि(य)	मञिषु	(,)
M—	प्रपोत्र	मे	अ—		नव	—	—	—		—

G—	सरसके	एव	विजये	छाति	च	(12)	—	—	—	—
K—	षयकषि	नो	विजयषि	खति	चा		लहु(17)दंडता			चा
S—	—क—	यो	विजये	(छं)ति	च		लहुद(ड)तं			च
M—	—	—	—	—			—			——

G—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—
K—	लोचेतु (,)	तमेव	चा	विजय	मनतु		ये	धंमविजये	(।)
S—	रोचेतु	त ए(व)		विज	मञ	(12)	यो	ध्रमविजयो	(।)
M—	—	—		—	—		—	—	—

G—	—	—	—(कि)—	—	—		—	—
K—	षे	हिदलोकिक्य-	पललो(18)कि(क्ये)	(।)	षवा	च	निलति	होतु
S—	सो	हिदलोकिको	परलोकिको	(।)	सत्र	च	निरति	भोतु
M—	—	—	—(लोकिके)	(।)	सत्र	च	निरति	होतु

G—	—	—	—			(हि)दलोकिका च		पारलोकिका च	(।)
K—	उयामलति		(।)	षा	हि	हिदलोकि(क)	—	पललोकिक्या	(।)
S—	य (स्र)मरति		(।)	स	हि	हिदलोकिक	—	परलोकिक	(।)
M—	य (स्र)मरति		(।)	स	(हि	हिद)लोकिक	—	परलोकिक	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI VERSION)

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तस्य (०क्तेन इत्यर्थ.) देवप्रियस्य (०येण इत्यर्थः) प्रियदर्शिनः (०ना इत्यर्थः) राज्ञः (राज्ञा इत्यर्थः) कलिङ्गाः विजिताः । द्वयर्द्धमात्रं (सार्द्धमात्रं वा) प्राणशतसहस्र यत् ततः अपव्यूढ (अपोढं), शतसहस्रमात्रं तत्र हतं, बहु-तावत्कं (ततोऽपि बहु इत्यर्थ.) मृतम् । ततः पश्चात् अधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु धर्म्मोपायः (धर्म्मशीलनं, अन्यत्र), धर्म्मकामता, धर्म्मानुशास्तिः (धर्म्मानुशिष्टिः वा) च देवप्रियस्य । तत् अस्ति अनुशय. देवप्रियस्य विजित्य कलिङ्गान् । अविजिते हि विजीयमाने यत् तत्र वधः वा, मरणं वा, अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत् बाढं वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवप्रियस्य । सर्व्वत्र

वसन्ति ब्राह्मणा· वा, श्रमणा· वा, अन्ये वा पाषण्डाः, गृहस्था वा—येषु विहिता एषा अग्रभूत-शुश्रूषा, मातापितृ-शुश्रूषा, गुरुशुश्रूषा, मित्र संस्तुत-सहायज्ञातिकेषु दास-भृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्ति दृढभक्तिता। तेषां तत्र भवति उपघात (अपग्रह S.) वा, वध वा, अभिरक्तानां वा विनिष्क्रमणम्। येषां वा अपि सविहिताना स्नेह अविप्रहीण एतेषा मित्रसंस्तुत-सहायज्ञातिका व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति। अत्र स अपि तेषा एव उपघातः (अपग्रह S । प्रतिभाग· च एष सर्व्वमनुष्याणा गुरुमत च देवप्रियस्य। नास्ति च स जनपद यत्र न सन्ति इमे निकायाः अन्यत्र यवनेषु (i e यवनेभ्य·), एषः ब्राह्मण श्रमण· च। नास्ति च क्व अपि जनपदे (कश्चिदपि जनपद· इत्यर्थ) यत्र नास्ति मनुष्याणा एकतरस्मिन् अपि पाषण्डे न नाम प्रसाद । तत् यावान् जन तदा कलिङ्गेषु लब्धेषु हत· च मृतः च अपव्यूढः (अपोढः वा) च, ततः शतभाग वा, सहस्रभाग वा अद्य गुरुमत एव देवप्रियस्य। [य· अपि च अपकुर्यात्, (स) क्षन्तव्यमत· देवप्रियस्य, यत् शक्य क्षन्तुं (क्षमणाय वा)। या अपि अटवी (ये अपि आटव्या· सन्ति इत्यर्थ) देवप्रियस्य विजिते भवति, ता अपि अनुनयति, अनुनिध्यायति अनुतापयति अपि च प्रभाव· देवप्रियस्य। उच्यते तेषां (समीपे , तेभ्य इत्यर्थ) कि इति (?) "अपत्रपेरन् न च हन्येरन्"। इच्छति हि देवप्रिय· सर्व्वभूताना अक्षतिं च संयमं च समचर्यां च मार्द्दवं (रभसं) च इति G S]। अयं च मुख्यमत विजयः देवप्रियस्य य· धर्म्मविजय·। स च पुनः लब्ध देवप्रियस्य इह च सर्व्वेषु च अन्तेषु आषड्भ्य अपि योजनशतेभ्यः—यत्र अन्तियोक· नाम यवनराज , परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोकात् चत्वार· राजानः—तुलमय नाम, अन्तेकिन· नाम, मग· नाम, अलिकसुदर नाम, नीचाः (नीचैर्वा) चोडाः पाण्ड्या· यावत् ताम्रपर्णीया·, एवमेव इह राजविषये—यवनकम्बोजेषु नाभके नाभपतिषु भोज-पितिनिकेषु अन्ध्रपुलिन्देषु—सर्व्वत्र देवप्रियस्य धर्म्मानुशस्तिं (धर्म्मानुशिष्टिं) अनुवर्त्तन्ते (जनाः इत्यर्थः)। यत्र अपि दूता देवप्रियस्य न यन्ति (व्रजन्ति S), ते अपि श्रुत्वा देवप्रियस्य धर्म्मोक्त विधानं धर्म्मानुशिष्टिं (च) धर्म्मं अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति च। य स· लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्व्वत्र विजयः—प्रीतिरसः सः। लब्धा सा भवति प्रीतिः धर्म्मविजये। लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीति·। पारत्रिकं एव महाफलं मन्यते देवप्रियः। एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्म्मलिपि लिखिता (निवेशिता); किं इति? पुत्रा· प्रपौत्राः मे स्यु·, (ते इत्यर्थः) नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मंसत। स्वके (स्वरसके G) एव विजये क्षान्तिं लघुदण्डता च रोचन्ताम्। तं एव च विजयं मन्यता यः धर्म्मविजय·। स· ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकः। सर्व्वा च निरति· भवतु उद्यमरति· (श्रमरति·, अन्यत्र)। सा हि ऐहलौकिकी-पारलौकिकी।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

By King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, when consecrated eight years, was conquered the Kaliṅga country. One and a half hundred thousand people were carried away (as captives) from that place, one hundred-thousand were killed (or wounded) and many times that number died (there). Thereafter, now when Kalinga has been annexed, practice of *Dharma* (the Law of piety), love of *Dharma* and inculcation of that *Dharma* (were adopted) by (the king),

the Beloved of the gods. For his having conquered Kalinga, there arose remorse or repentance in (the mind of the king), the Beloved of the Gods. For when an unconquered country is (newly) conquered, there occur such things as slaughter, death and carrying away captive of people and these things are exceedingly felt and regarded as serious by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods There live everywhere Brāhmanas and (Buddhist) ascetics, people of other (religious) sects and house-holders, among whom these (virtues) are practised, namely, service (or hearkening) to superiors (or elder brothers), hearkening to mother and father, hearkening to preceptors and proper behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives, as well as to slaves and servants and also steadfast devotion (to duties). There to them (also) occur injury (or taking away or tearing off of dear ones), slaughter and banishment of persons attached to them. And of those who are well settled in life and whose affection remains unreduced or unvanished, their friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives fall into calamity. There to them that too is a kind of injury (or seizure by force). This lot (or ill-luck) of all men is regarded as serious by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods. There is no such country except that of the Yavanas, where do not live communities (or groups of people) like these Brāhmaṇas and *Śramanas*. There is also no such country where, amongst men, does not exist (religious) faith in some one sect or another.

So, whatever number of men was then killed (or wounded), and died and was carried away captive at the time of annexation of Kalinga, a hundredth part or the thousandth part (of that number) is regarded as serious by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods. And moreover, if any one does wrong (to him), he should be tolerated or pardoned by the king, the Beloved of the Gods, so far as it is possible to tolerate (or to pardon). To the forest-tracts (i.e., the people thereof) that exist in the dominion of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, the majestic power of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, should bring consolation, should make (them) reflect (properly) and should also make them feel remorseful (in wrong deeds), This should be thus told—"you should feel ashamed (for your wrong-doing), if you do not want to be perished (or utterly ruined)." For, (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, wishes to all beings freedom from injury (i.e., security), self control, proper behaviour (or mental tranquillity) and gentleness (or joyousness, *rabhasa*). In the opinion of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, the chiefest conquest is the *Dharma-vijaya* (i.e., the victory of the Law of piety). And that conquest has been achieved by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, both here (in his own dominions) and among all the border (or neighbouring) regions as far as six *yojanas* where dwells the Ionian (or Greek) King named Antiochos, and beyond that Antiochos (i.e., in the north-west) (where live) the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander and also downwards (i.e., in the South) among the Cholas and Pāṇdyas as far as the Tāmraparṇī

(river)-people and thus also in the king's own provinces viz , in the countries of the Ionians or Greeks and Kambojas, the Nābhapantis of Nābhaga, the Bhojas and the Pitinikas, the Andhras and the Pulindas. (For), everywhere (these people) follow the instruction in the Law of piety (given) by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods. Even where the envoys (or messengers) of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, do not go, they on hearing of the ordinances preached on the Law of piety and his instructions on the Law of piety follow (or practise) and will follow the Law of piety. And the same conquest is achieved thereby everywhere and this conquest is full of delight. This delight is won through the Law of piety. But this delight, however, is a small matter. (The king), the Beloved of the Gods, considers that (gain) which concerns the other world as being of great fruit. And for this purpose this Edict of the Law of piety has been written—what is that?—so that my sons and great-grand-sons, whoever may be, may not think of conquering a new conquest. If ever, they take up any conquest of their own (or as giving delight to themselves), they should find pleasure in forgiveness (or toleration) and lightness in (giving) punishment. And they consider that to be the (real) conquest—which is conquest through the Law of piety. That (conquest) avails both for good in this world and the next. May all their deep joy be in what is joy in effort (or, as elsewhere, in what is joy through exertion). For, that (joy) concerns both this world and the next.

WORD NOTES

(1) कलिंग्या—The country of the Kalingas. This province during Aśoka's time lay on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, extending from the Mahānadī to the Godāvarī (=almost the whole of modern Orissa State).

(2) दियढमाते—Skt. द्यर्द्धमात्र', cf. दियधमत्ते S. Pali दियड्ढ=Skt. द्यर्द्ध' वा सार्द्ध', one and a half.

(3) धंमवाये—Skt. धर्म्मोपाय . Cf. धमवायो G. S has instead ध्रमपलनं (धर्म्मपालनम्)

(4) विजिनितु—A Gerund. Skt. विजित्य.

(5) विजिनमने—Skt. विजीयमाने. Cf. विजिनमनि S.

(6) गलुमततले—Cf. गुरुमततरं of S. In this one will do well to remember what Kautilya thought of the evil effects even of a victory in a shooting war in the following passage. "व्यायामयुद्धे हि क्षयव्ययाभ्या उभयोरवृद्धिः । जित्वापि हि क्षीणदण्डकोशः पराजितो भवति" (VII. 12).

(7) अगभुतशुसुषा—It seems proper to take अग्रभूत in the sense of अग्रजन्मा, elder brother. Cf. "अग्रजन्मा द्विजश्रेष्ठे भ्रातरि ब्रह्मणि स्मृतः" इति विश्व. Some scholars translate the word by 'superiors'. But the word गुरुशुश्रूषा occurs later.

(8) उपघाते—Skt. उपघात॰, injury or violence, wrong or offence. But in its place S has अपग्रथो which seems to be equivalent to the Skt. word अपग्रह. (seizure by force), the Skt, root अप+ग्रह् meaning 'to take away, to tear off, to snatch perforce', hence 'separation' is a near explanation.

(9) षिनेहे—Skt स्नेह, affection. Cf. नेहो S and सिनेहे M.

(10) पटिभागे—Skt. प्रतिभाग, lot, luck, share. Cf पटिभागो S.

(11) आनंता—Skt. अन्यत्र Cf अनत्र G.

(12) योनस—Skt. यवनस्य Cf. येनेषु of M. S

(13) कुवापि—Skt. क्व अपि (क्वापि).

(14) पषादे—Skt. प्रसाद Cf. प्रसादो G, प्रसदो S and प्रसदे M Pali पसाद means deep religious faith.

(15) छमितविय—Skt. क्षन्तव्यं. छमितवे G. =क्षन्तुम्. छमनये S=क्षमणाय

(16) अटवि—Skt अटवी (i e, आटविकजना —the people of the forest regions).

(17) अनुनेति—Skt. अनुनयति. Cf. अनुनयति M. Shows conciliatory attitude towards.

(18) अनुतपे—Skt अनुतापयेत्. पभवे=Skt. प्रभाव:, majestic power. Some may feel inclined to take the whole phrase as 'अनुताप. अपि च प्रभवेत्'.

(19) अनुनिझपेति(S)—Skt. अनुनिध्याययति Cf. अनुनिझपयेति M i.e., makes them think rightly, makes them reflect, or seeks their cessation (from evil ways)

(20) अपत्रपेयु(S)—Skt. अपत्रपेरन्, should express sense of shame, should turn away their face (from). Cf. "येनापत्रपते साधुरसाधुस्तेन तुष्यति"—महाभारत.

(20a) हंञेयेसु(S)—Skt. हन्येरन्, may be wholly ruined, punished, frustrated.

(21) अछति(S)—Skt. अक्षतिम्, non-injury.

(22) षमचलियं (S)—Skt. समचर्यां, from सम+चर् to behave or conduct one's self towards (others). Cf. समचरियं S समचेरं G, proper behaviour, or state of security, or mental balance.

(23) मदव—Skt. मार्द्दवं or मृदुता, gentleness, softness. Cf. मादवं G. In its place S has रभसिये=Skt. रभस॰, joy, pleasure. Cf. "रभसो वेगहर्षयोः" इति विश्वः। Rarely in the sense of regret or sorrow.

(24) धंमविजये—Cf. Kautilya for the three kinds of विजयिन्'s—धर्म्मविजयी, लोभविजयी and असुरविजयी

(25) अंतियोको (योनरज) S—The Greek King Antiochos Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.), once before mentioned in R E II.

(26) परं—Next to, beyond, on the other side of, i.e., here in the north-west.

(27) तुलमये—Cf. तुरमयो G, तुरमये S. =Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B C).

(28) अंतेकिने—Cf. अंतेकिना G, अंतिकिनि S. =Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (278 or 277—239 B C)

(29) मका—Cf. मगा G, मक S and M. =Magas of Cyrene in North Africa, West of Egypt (C 285-258 B C.)

(30) अलिक्यषुदले—Cf. अलिकसुदरो S, अलिकसुदरे M. =Alexander, King of Epiras (C. 272-255 B.C.), or (according to some scholars) Alexander of Corinth (C. 252-244 B C,).

(31) निचं—Skt. नीचै . Cf निच S. Downwards (towards the sea, i e, in the South).

(32) चोड, पंडिया, तंबपंनिया—Vide ante R.E II.

(33) लाजा-विशवषि—Skt राजविषये, in the provinces of the king. Cf. राजविसयम्हि G. रजविषवस्पि S and M.

(34) योन—Cf. R.E. II. the Greeks or Hellenized people of N.W. India.

(35) कंबोजेषु and पितिनिक्येषु—Cf. R. E. V. The पितिनिक people are connected by some scholars, of course uncertainly, with Paithan (प्रतिष्ठान) on the Godāvarī.

(36) नाभके नाभपंतिषु—Not identified yet.

(37) भोज—These Bhoja people occupied the Ellichpur area in Berar or Vidarbha.

(38) अध—Cf. अंध्र S, अंध M. The famous Andhra people in the Deccan, who in ancient days had a great kingdom in the South of India.

(39) पुलदेषु—Cf. पिरिंदेसु G, पुलिदेषु S. Probably they are the hill-tribes of this name who may have been the Bhils in the Vindhya and Satpura hill-areas.

(40) सुतु—Gerund श्रुत्वा Cf श्रुतु of S and M.

(41) निपिस्त(S)—Cf. लिखिता K and लिखित M, ध्रमदिपि=धर्म्मलिपि. Both निपिस्त and दिपि are forms under Persian influence.

(42) षयकपि—Skt. स्वके, one's own. Pali सक=Skt. स्वक (loc. case-ending सकस्मि'—स्वक=सवक=सयक) cf स-रसके (विजये) G. स्वरसक may mean स्वरसनीय i.e., which is tasted by one-self. It seems to have no connection with शरशक्यं etc. as explained by some scholars.

(43) खंति—Skt. क्षान्ति., forbearance, toleration. Cf. छाति' G and छंति M.

(44) लोचेतु—Skt. रोचन्ताम्, or रोचयन्ता, take pleasure in, take fancy to. Cf. रोचेतु S

(45) निलति—Skt. निरतिः. Cf निरति S and M. Skt. नि+रम् (caus) means to gladden, give pleasure Hence निरति means 'deep delight in or attachment to'.

EDICT XIV (TEXT)

G—	(1)	अयं	धंमलिपी	देवानं	पिं(प्रि)येन	पिं(प्रि)यदसिना	राञा
K—	(19)	इयं	धंमलिपि	देवान	पियेन	पियदसिना	लाजिना
D—	(17)	इयं	धंमलिपी	देवानं	पियेन	पियद(सि)ना	ला(जिना)
J—		—	—	—	—	—	—
S—	(13)	अयो	ध्रमदिपि	देवानं	प्रियेन	प्रिशिन	रञ

G—	लेखापिता	(।)	अस्ति	एव	(2) सखितेन	अस्ति	मझमेन	अस्ति	विस्ततन	(।)
K—	लिखापिता	(।)	अथि	येव	सुखि-(20)तेना	अथि	मझिमेना	अस्ति	विथटेना	(।)
D—	(लिख) —	(।)	—	—	—	अथि	मझि(मे)ना	—	—	(।)
J—	—	—	—	—	—	—(म)(24)झि(मेन)		(अथि)	वियतेन	(।)
S—	दिपापितो	(।)	अस्ति	वो	संखितेन	—	—	अस्ति यो	विस्तृटेन	(।)

G—	न च सर्वं	सर्वत	घटितं	(।) (3)	महालके	हि	विजितं	बहु	च
K—	नो हि सवता	सवे	घटिते	(।)	महालके	हि	वि(21)जिते	बहु	च
D—	(नो हि) सवे	स(व)त	घटिते	(।) (18)	महंते	हि	विजये	ब(हुके)	च
J—	(नो)हि सवे	सवत	घटिते	(।)	महंते	हि	विजये (25)	—	—
S—	न हि सत्रत्र	(सो)सत्रे	घटिति	(।)	महलके	हि	विजिते	बहु	च

G— लिखितं लिखापयिमं चेवा (।) अस्ति च एत कं (4)
K— लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्यं(त्यं) (।) अथि चा हेत
D— लिखिते लिखियिसा(मि) (चेव) (।) अथि (च) (हे)—
J— — — — — — —
S— लिखिते लिखपेशामि चेवा (।) अस्ति च अत्र

G— पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस माधूरताय (,) किंति (?)
K— पुन पुन लपि(22)ते तषा तषा अथषा मधुलियाय (,) येन
D— — — — — — —(याये (,) (19) (किं)ति च (?)
J— — — — — —(स) माधुलियाये (,) किं(ति) च (,)
S— पुन पुन (ल)पित तस तस (अठ)स मधुरियाये (;) (येन)

G— जनो तथा पटिपजेथ (।) (5) तत्र एकदा असमातं
K— जने तथा पटिपजेया (।) षे षिया अत किछि अ(23)समति
D— जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (।) ए पि चु हेत (अस)मति
J— जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (।) ए पि चु हेत (26) —
S— ज(न) तथ(14) पटिपजेय ति (।) सो सिय व अत्र किचि असमतं

G— लिखितं अस देस व सछाय कारणं व (6) अलोचेत्पा
K— लिखिते दिषा वा षखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु
D— लिखिते — सं— सं— (अलोचयितु)
J— — — — — —
S— लिखितं देशं व संखये करण व अलोचेति

G— लिपिकरापरधेन व (।)
K— लिपिकलपलाधेन वा (।)
D— — कल — ति (।)
J— — — ——
S— दिपिकरस व अपरधेन (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(KALSI TEXT)

इयं धर्म्मलिपिः देवप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता। अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन अस्ति मध्यमेन अस्ति विस्तृतेन (आकारेण इत्यर्थ) (लेखिता)। न हि सर्व्वत्र सर्व्वं घटितम्। महल्लकं (महत् इत्यर्थः) हि विजितम्, बहु च लिखितं लेखयिष्यामि च एव नित्यम्। अस्ति च अत्र पुनः पुन लपितं (उक्तं, अन्यत्र) तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य माधुर्याय, येन जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत। तत् स्यात् अत्र किञ्चित् असमाप्तं लिखितं, देशं वा संक्षयकारणं वा आलोच्य, लिपिकरापराधेन वा।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

This Edict of the Law of piety was caused to be written by King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods. (It has been written in a form) sometimes brief (or condensed), sometimes of medium length, and sometimes expanded (or detailed). For, everything is not fit (or proper) in every place. (My) dominion is vast (or great) and much has been written and (much) will be caused to be writen. (Something) in this has been uttered (or said) again and again on account of the sweetness of this and that matter (or topic)—so that people may act accordingly Something in this may have been written in an incomplete form—(but this has been done) by considering the space (available) or the reason of mutilation (in the stones), or on account of the scribe's error.

WORD-NOTES

(1) सुखितेना—Skt. संक्षिप्तेन, Cf. संखितेन G and S.

(2) विस्तत(ते)न G—Skt विस्तृतेन. Cf विथटेना K and विथटेन J, विस्त्रिटेन S.

(3) घटिते—Skt. घटितं. Cf. घटितं G, घटिते D and J, घटिति S, The Skt. root घट् ordinarily means 'to be possible or to suit' and this last meaning is suitable to this context.

(4) महालके—Skt. महल्लकः (महत् इत्यर्थः). Cf. महंते D and J, महलके S. Pali महल्लक generally means old or elder. But this word (more specially at the beginning of compound words) is used in the sense of महत्, great or large. Here it is, however, used singly in this sense.

(5) विजिते—Skt. विजितं (dominion or kingdom in Buddhist literature). The D and J versions have instead the word विजये (=Skt. विजयः, victory, being great).

(6) निक्यं—Evidently a mistake for निलम्.

(7) मधुलियाये—Skt. माधुर्याय Cf माधूरताय G, माधुरियये S. On account of sweetness (of sentiment), or of exquisite beauty or grace of style (in the expressions)

(8) दिषा—Is it Skt. दिशा, i.e. having in view the geographical quarters? Cf. देसं G, देशं S. Here the word देश is not used in the sense of एकदेश (part) as elsewhere, or उपदेश (instruction) But it is certainly used in the sense of 'place or part of the country' where the Edicts are issued, or 'space' in the rocks for the letters of the edicts to be engraved on.

(9) षंखेये (कालनं)—Skt. संक्षये Cf. सछायकारणं G (संक्षयकारणं, 'क्ष' becoming 'छ' here as in छमितवे for क्षन्तुम्). Mutilation of stone is probably the meaning here.

(10) अलोचयितु—A gerundial absolute. Skt आलोच्य Cf. अलोचेत्पा (=आलोच्य), अलोचेति S.

SEVEN PILLAR EDICTS

EDICT I (TEXT) ⁘

D-T—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आहा	(—)
D-M—	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	
A—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसो	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(:—)
R—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह	(—)
M—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेव	आह	(:—)
Rm—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह	(:—)

⁘ This set of Aśokan Pillar Edicts consists of the following versions (the texts of the first six Edicts being almost identical) —(1) Delhi-Topra, also called Delhi-Sivālik (transported from Topra in Ambāla District to Delhi), (2) Delhi-Meerut (removed from Meerut to Delhi), (3) Allahabad (U.P.), (4) Radhia (Lauriya-Ararāj), (5) Mathia (Lauriya-Nandangarh) and (6) Rampurwa (the last three places being in Champaran District of Bihar). It may be noted that only No. 1 version contains all the Seven Pillar Edicts, and Nos. 2-6 contain Pillar Edicts I-VI.

D-T—	सडुवीसति(2)-वसअभिसितेन	मे	इयं	धंमलिपि	लिखापिता	(1) (3)
D-M—	——	—	—	—	—	
A—	सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन	मे	इयं	धंमलिपि	लिखापिता	(1)
R—	सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन	मे	इयं	धंमलिपि (2)	लिखापित	(1)
M—	सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन	मे	इयं (2)	धंमलिपि	लिखापित	(1)
Rm—	स(डु)— — —	—	—	—	—	

D-T—	(3)	हिदतपालते	दुसंपटिपादये	अंनत	अगाया	धंमकामताया
D-M—		—	—	—	—	—
A—		हिदतपालते	दुसंपटिपा(द)(ये) (2)	अंनत	अगाय	धंमकामताय
R—		हिदतपालते	दुसंपटिपादये	अंनत	अगाय	धंमकामता(य)
M—		हिदतपालते	दुसंपटिपादये	अंनत	अगाय	धंमकामताय
Rm—		—	(2) दुसंपटिपादये	अंनत	अगाय	धंमकामताय

D-T—	(4)	अगाय	पलीखाया	अगाय	सुसूसाया	अगेन	भयेना	(5) अगेन	उसाहेना	(1)
D-M—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
A—		अगाय	पलीखाय	अगाय	सुसूसाया	अगेन	भयेन	(अगे)न	उसाहेन	(1)
R—		अगाय	पलीखाय	अगाय	सुसूसाय	अगेन	भयेन	अगेन	उसाहेन	(1)
M—	(3)	अगाय	पलीखाय	अगाय	सुसूसाय	अगेन	भयेन	अगेन	उसाहेन	(1)
Rm—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

D-T	एस	चु	खो	मम	अनुसथिया	(6)	धंमापेखा	धंमकामता	चा
D-M—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—
A—	एस	चु	खो	मम	अनुसथिया	(3)	धंमापेखा	धंमकामता	च
R—	एस	चु	खो	मम	अनुसथिय		धंमापेख	धंमकामता	च
M—	एष	चु	खो	मम	(4) अनुसथिय		धंमापेख	धंमकामता	च
Km—(3)	एष	चु	खो	मम	अनुसथिय		धंमापेख	धंम—	—

D-T—	सुवे	सुवे	वढिता	वढीसति	चेवा	(1)	(7)	पुलिसा	पि	च	मे
DM—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—
A—	सुवे	सुवे	वढिता	वढीसति	चेवा	(1)		पुलिसा	पि		मे
R—	सुवे	सुवे	वढिता	वढीसति	चेव	(1)		पुलिसा	पि		मे
M—	सुवे	सुवे	वढित	वढीसति	चेव	(1)		पुलिसा	पि		मे
Rm—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—		—

D-T—	उकसा	चा	गेवया	चा	मझिमा	चा	अनुविधीयंती	(४)	संपटिपादयंति
D-M—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—
A—	उकसा	च	गेवया	च	मझिमा	च	अनुविधीयंति	(5)	संपटिपादयंति
R—	उकसा	च	गेवया	च	मझिमा	च	अनुविधीयंति		संपटिपादयंति
M—	उकसा	च	गेवया	च	मझिमा	च	अनुविधीयंति		संपटिपादयंति
Rm—	—	—(4)	गेवया	च	मझिमा	च	अनुविधीयति		संपटिपादय—

D-T—	चा	अलं	चपलं	समादपयितवे	(1)	हेमेवा	अंत(9)महामात	पि	(1)
D-M—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	
A—	च (4)	अलं	चपलं	समादपयितवे	(1)	हेमेव	अंतमहामाता	पि	(1)
R—	च	अलं	चपलं	समादपयितवे	(1)	हेमेव	अंतमहामाता	पि	(1)
M—	च	अल	चपलं	समादपयितवे	(1)(6)	हेमेव	अंतमहामाता	पि	(1)
Rm—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	

D-T—	एसा	पि	विधि	या	इयं	धंमेन	पालना	धंमेन		विधाने
D-M—	—	—	—	—	इयं	—	नं	धंमेन	(२)	विधाने
A—	एसा	हि	विधि	या	इयं	धंमेन	पालना	धंमेन		विधाने
R—	एसा	हि	विधि	या	इयं	धमेन	पालन (6)	धंमेन		विधाने
M—	एसा	हि	विधि	या	इय	धंमेन	पालन	धंमेन		विधाने
Rm—	—	—	—(5)	या	इयं	धंमेन	पालन	धंमेन		विधाने

D-T—	(10)	धंमेन	सुखियना		धंमेन	गोती	ति		(1)
D-M—		धंम—	—खि(य)—		—	—	—		(1)
A—		धंमे(न)	सुखीयना		धंमेन	गुति	ति	चु	(1)
R—		धंमेन	सुखीयन		धंमेन	गोती	ति		(1)
M—		धंमेन	सुखीयन	(7)	धंमेन	गोती	ति		(1)
Rm—		धंमेव	(सु)—		—	—	—		(1)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवाना प्रिय. प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह :—षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता। इहत्य-पारत्रे दुःसम्प्रतिपाद्ये अन्यत्र अग्र्यायाः (अग्राया वा) धर्मकामताया. अग्र्यायाः परीक्षाया· अग्र्यायाः शुश्रूषायाः अग्र्यात् भयात् अग्र्यात् उत्साहात्। एषा तु खलु मम अनुशिष्ट्या धर्मापेक्षा धर्मकामता च श्व· श्वः वर्धिता वर्धिष्यते चैव। पुरुषा· अपि च मम उत्कृष्टाः गेपकाः (ग्लेपकाः, गेवकाः,

ग्लेवकाः) च मध्यमा च अनुविदधति सम्प्रतिपादयन्ति च, अलं चपलं (अलं च परं) समादापयितुम् । एवमेव अन्तमहामात्राः अपि । एष अपि (हि) विधिः यत् इदं धर्मेण पालनं धर्मेण विधानं धर्मेण सुखनं (=सौख्यदानं=सुखीकरणं) धर्मेण गुप्तिः इति ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods,—by me, having been consecrated twenty-six years, has this Edict of the Law (of piety or righteousness) was caused to be written —the benefits of this world and the next are hard to achieve except by utmost devotion to the Law (of piety), utmost examination (of one's own self), or introspection, utmost obedience, utmost fear (of wrong-doing) and utmost effort or exertion. Now, on account of my instructions this dependence on the Law (of piety) and this devotion to the Law (of piety) have grown from day to day and will grow (daily). My officers (or agents) too, be they of the highest class, or of the lowest one, or of the middle one, conform (to my instruction) and properly practise (the same)—for inciting or arousing the fickle or unsteady persons (to good actions) as competently (or, as sufficiently or thoroughly) as they can (or, they are competent also to make others accept my teaching). Likewise the *Mahāmātras* (the high state-functionaries) of the frontiers (i.e., the Wardens of the Marches) also (do the same). For (or, and) this should be the rule (of action)—namely, administration according to the Law (of piety), regulation (or legislation) according to the Law (of piety), making men happy according to the Law (of piety) and protection according to the Law (of piety).

WORD NOTES

(1) अंनत—(अन्यत्र) should govern substantives in the ablative case-endings. But here the Aśokan idiom provides the third-case-endings, as required by the sense. In Buddhist Sanskrit also we can observe such violation of the Pāninian rule "अन्यारात्—" (II. 3. 29) in similar cases.

(2) सुवे सुवे—A well-known Pali phrase to mean 'day to day', daily (=Skt. श्व श्वः, to be rendered into Prakit by *svarabhakti* or anaptyxis process).

(3) पुलिसा—Mean राजपुरुषाः i.e., royal officers or Government servants (of Home provinces).

(4) उकमा—उत्कृष्टाः=Prakrit उक्स्मा=उक्सा, peculiarly formed by the process of reverse assimilation.

(5) गेवया—A difficult word. It may easily be rendered into Sanskrit by the four words—ग्लेपकाः and गेपका. (with the help of the Sanskrit verbal roots ग्लेप् and गेप्) and ग्लेवकाः and गेवका· (with the help of the Sanskrit verbal roots गेव् and ग्लेव्). Vide Pānini-dhātupātha—"ग्लेप् दैन्ये" (366)—ग्लेपते (भ्वा-आ-से) and "· ····गेपृ ··· ·च" (369)—गेपते (भ्वा-आ-से) meaning to be poor or miserable i.e., to be lowly in rank. Also vide the same—"·· गेवृ (502)-ग्लेवृ (503)···सेवने"—गेवते, ग्लेवते both (भ्वा-आ-से) meaning to serve i.e., to be service-givers, or to become a servant i.e., to be lowly in rank.

(6) अलं चपलं (or, अलं च पलं) समादपयितवे—The word अलं may here be used as an adverb-indeclinable to mean 'sufficiently or thoroughly or excessively', or 'ably or competently'. It may also be taken as an adjective-indeclinable (as connected with a pronoun ते as understood). Cf. Amara's lexicon—"अलं भूषण-पर्याप्ति-शक्ति-वारणवाचकम्". Here we may take it as either पर्याप्तिवाचक or a शक्तिवाचक word. समादपयितवे—A gerundial infinitive of समादपेति in Pali is a causative form of समादियति (from सम्+आ+दा) to adopt, or to take upon oneself. So समादपेति (=Skt समादापयति) means to incite, instigate (others into action). चपलं—fickle or unsteady. If च is taken separately from पलं (परं)—the Sanskrit rendering will be च परम् (to make others accept or adopt i.e., my instructions).

(7) सुखियना and सुखीयना—A Prakrit noun formed from the verbal root सुखयति, to give happiness or felicity.

EDICT II (TEXT)

D-T—	(10)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	(11)	हेवं	आहा	(:—)
D-M—	(3)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा		हेव	—	(:—)
A—	(5)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसी	लाजा		हेवं	आहा	(:—)
R—	(7)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज		हेवं	आह	(:—)
M—	(8)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज		हेवं	आह	(—)
Rm—	(6)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज		हेवं	आह	(:—)

D-T—	धंमे	साधु	(।)	कियं	चु	धंमे	ति	(?)	अपासिनवे	बहुकयाने
D-M—	धंमे	साधु	(।)	कियं	—	—	—(4)	(?)	अपासिनवे	बहुकयाने
A—	धंमे	साधु	(।)	कियं	चु	धंमे	ति	(?)	अपासिनवे	बहुकयाने
R—	धंमे	साधु	(।)	किय	चु	धंमे	ति	(?)	अपासिनवे	बहुकयाने
M—	धंमे	साधु	(।)	कियं	चु	धंमे	ति	(?)	अपासिनवे	बहुकयाने
Rm—	धंमे	साधु	(।)	किय	—	—	—		—	—

D-T—	(12)	दया	दाने	सचे	सोचये	(।)	चखुदाने	पि	मे	बहुविधे	दिने	(।)
D-M—		दया	दाने	सचे	(सो)चये	(।)	(चखु)दाने	पि(5)	मे	बहुविधे	दिने	(।)
A—		दया	दाने	सचे	सोचये	(।)	चखुदाने	पि	मे(6)	बहुविधे	दिंने	(।)
R—		दय	दाने	सचे (8)	सोचेये ति	(।)	चखुदाने	पि	मे	बहुविधे	दिने	(।)
M—	(9)	दय	दाने	सचे	सोचेये ति	(।)	चखुदाने	पि	मे	बहुविधे	दिने	(।)
Rm—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—		बहुविधे	दिंने	(।)

D-T—	दुपद (13)—चतुपदेसु	पखि—वालिचलेसु	विविधे	मे	अनुगहे	कटे
D-M—	दुपद — चतुपदेसु	पखि—वालिचलेसु	(विविधे	मे	अनु)(6)गहे	कटे
A—	दुपद — चतुपदेसु	पखि—वालिचलेसु	विविधे	मे	अनुगहे	कटे
R—	दुपद — चतुपदेसु	पखि—वालिचलेसु	विविधे	मे	अनुगहे	कटे
M—	दुपद — चतुपदेसु	पखि(10)वालिचलेसु	विविधे	मे	अनुगहे	कटे
Rm—	दुपद — चतुपदेसु	पखि—वालिचलेसु	विवि—	—	—	—

D-T— आ पान—(14)दाखिनाये (।) अंनानि पि च मे वहूनि कयानानि कटानि (।)
D-M— आ पान—दाखिनाये (।) अंनानि पि च मे बहू(नि—यानानि) (9) कटानि (।)
A— आ पान—दखिनाये (।) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (।)
R— (9) आ पान—दखिनाये (।) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (।)
M— आ पान—दखिनाये (।) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि (11)कटानि (।)
Rm— — — — — — — — — —

D-T— एताये मे (15) अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (—) हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
D-M— एताये मे अठाये — धंमलिपि लिखापिता (·—)—(8) अनुपटिपजंतू
A— (7) एताये मे अठाये इय धंमलिपि लिखापिता (—) हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
R— एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (—) हेवं(10)अनुपटिपजंतु
M— एताये (मे) अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (—) हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
Rm— (8) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (:—) हेवं अ——

D-T— चिलं-(16)थितिका च होतू ती ति (।) ये च हेवं सपटिपजीमति से सुकटं कछती ति (।)
D-M— चि(लं-थि)तिका च होतू ति (।) ये च हे— —(9)सति से सुकट क(छ)ती ति(।)
A— चिलठितीका च होतू ति (।) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति (।)
R— चिलथितीका च होतू ति (।) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछति ति (।)
M— चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (।)(12)ये च हेव संपटिपजिमति से सुकटं कछति (।)
Rm— — — — — — — — — — — — —

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवाना प्रिय· प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह [·—] धर्म· साधु· । कियान् तु धर्म इति । अपास्रवः, बहुकल्याणं, दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं (शुचिता) । चक्षुर्दानं अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपद-चतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु विविध मया अनुग्रहः कृत· आ प्राणदाक्षिण्यात् (प्राणदक्षिणायाः वा) । अन्यानि अपि च मे बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । एवं अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम् (जना·), चिरस्थितिका च भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते स· सुकृतं करिष्यति इति ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods —The law (of piety) is a good thing. But what does this law consist in ? (It consists in the following things)—freedom from sin, good works of many kinds, compassion, liberality or making gifts, truthfulness and purity (of mind) or uprightness. In many ways have I given the gift of (spiritual) insight. I have shown many a favour to two-footed and four-footed (animals) and to birds and to beings living in waters, even unto the boon of (their) life. I have also done many other good deeds. For this purpose I have caused this Edict of the law (of piety) to be written—so that (people) may adopt or follow (for themselves) (this teaching) and that (this edict) may be long-enduring And he who will thus accept (it) will do a good act.

WORD NOTES

(1) अपासिनवे—Skt. अपास्रव . My pupil Dr. S. N. Ghoshal rightly suggests the root स्नु as used in the possible word आस्रवः. The root "स्नु (अदादि-प-अनिट्) १०३८ प्रस्रवणे"—to stream, to flow. By anaptyxis Skt. आस्रवः=आसिनव Pali, inclination to commit sins. The word आसिनव is to be rendered into आस्रव and not आस्रव here. With the Jains the term अराहय (which is derived from आ+स्नु) means the impulse of the mind leading to the object of the senses, and therefore 'sin'. In contrast to 'बहु' used with the word कयाने, scholars may take 'अप' used with आसिनव for 'अल्प'.

(2) चखुदाने—If the previous sentence -ends in च खु (=च खखु), the meaning should then be—these indeed are the different aspects of *dhamma*. We have then 'दाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने' ('by me have also been given gifts of many kinds'). Cf. मांसचक्षु, दिव्यचक्षु, प्रज्ञाचक्षु, बुद्धचक्षु, चर्म्मचक्षु in Boddhist literature.

(3) 'होतूतीति' in D-T. version has ती as superfluous.

EDICT III (TEXT)

D-T—	(17)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	अहा	(.—)	कयानं	मेव	देखति—
D-M—	(10)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(—)	कयानं	मेव	देखति —
A—	(8)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसी	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(:—)	कयान	मेव	देखति—
R—	(11)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह	(—)	कयानं	मेव	देखंति—
M—	(13)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह	(—)	कयानं	मेव	देखंति—
Rm—	(9)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेव	आह	(.—)	कयानं	मे—	—

D-T—	इयं	मे	(18)	कयाने	कटे	ति	(।)	नोमिन	पापं	देखति—इयं	मे	पापे
D-M—	—	(मे)	(11)	कयाने	कटे	ति	(।)	नोमिना	पापं	देखति—(इ)यं	मे	पापं
A—	इयं	मे		कयाने	कटे	ति	(।)	नोमिन	पापक	देखति—इयं		पापके
R—	इयं	मे		कयाने	कटे	ति	(।)	नोमिन	पापं	देखंति—इयं	मे	पापे
M—	इयं	मे		कयाने	कटे	ति	(।)	नोमिन	पापं	देखंति—इयं	मे	पापे
Rm —	—	—		—	—	—		—	—	— —	—	—

D-T—	कटे	ति	इयं	वा	आसिनवे(19)	नामा	ति	(।)	दुपटिवेखे	चु	खो	एसा	(।)
D-M—	कटे	ति	इयं	व (12)	आसिनवे	ना(मा)	ति	(।)	दुपटिवेखे	चु	खो	एसा	(।)
A—	कटे	ति	इयं	वा	आसिनवं	नामा	ति	(।)	—	—	—	—	
R—	कटे	ति(12)	इयं	व	आसिनवे	नामा	ति	(।)	दुपटिवेखे	चु	खो	एम	(।)
M—	कटे	ति	इयं	व	आसिनवे	नामा	ति	(।)	दुपटिवेखे	चु	खो	एस	(।)
Rm—	—	—(10)	इयं	व	आसिनवे	नामा	ति	(।)	दुपटिवेखे	चु	खो	एस	(।)

D-T—	हेवं	च	खो	एस	देखिये	इमानि 20	आसिनवगामीनि	नाम	अथ	(—)
D-M—	हेवं	चु	—	(सा)	(दे)खिये(13)	(इ)मानि	आसिनव(गामीनि)	नाम	अथ	(—)
A—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	
R—	हेवं	चु	खो	एस	देखिये	इमानि	आसिनवगामीनि	नामाति	अथ	(:—)
M—	हेवं	चु	खो	एस	देखिये(15)	इमानि	आसिनवगामीनि	नामाति	अथ	(:—)
Rm—	हेवं	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

D-S—	चंडिये	निठूलिये	कोधे	माने	इस्या—(21)	कालनेन	व	हकं	मा
D-M—	चंडिये	निठूलिये	कोधे (14)	माने	इस्या—	कालनेन	(व)	हकं	मा
A—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R—	चंडिये(13)	निठूलिये	कोधे	माने	इस्य—	कालनेन	व	हकं	मा
M—	चंडिये	निठूलिये	कोधे	माने	इस्य—	कालनेन	व	हकं(16)	मा
Rm—	—	— (11)	कोधे	माने	इस्य—	कालनेन	व	हकं	मा

D-S—	पलिभसयिसं	(।)	एस	बाढं	देखिये	इयं	मे	हिदतिकाये	इयं	मन	मे
D-M—	पलिभसयिस(ं)	(।)	—	बाढं	देखिये	इयं	(मे)	हिदतिकाये	इयं	—	मे
A—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—
R—	पलिभसयिसं ति	(।)	एस	बाढं	देखिये	इयं	मे	हिदतिकाये	इयं	मन	मे
M—	पलिभसयिसं ति	(।)	एस	बाढं	देखिये	इयं	मे	हिदतिकाय	इयं	मन	मे
Rm—	पलिभसयि—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

D-S—	पालतिकाये		(।)
D-M—	पालतिकाये	ति	(।)
A—	—		
R—	पालतिकाये	ति	(।)
M—	पालतिकाये	ति	(।)
Rm	—		

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवानां प्रिय प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह·—कल्याणं एव (जन·) पश्यति—इदं मया कल्याणं कृतं इति। न अनेन (कोऽपि) पापं पश्यति – इदं मया पापं कृतं इति, अयं वा आस्रवः नाम इति। दुष्प्रत्यवेक्षं तु खलु एतत्। एवं तु खलु एतत् द्रष्टव्यं—इमानि आस्रवगामीनि नाम, यथा—चाण्ड्यं (चण्डत्वं वा), नैष्ठुर्यं, क्रोध, मान·, ईर्ष्या। कारणेन (अनेन) एव अहं मा(=न) परिभाषिष्ये (वा मां परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि)। एतत बाढं—इदं मम इहत्यकाय, इदं मनाक् मम पारत्रिकाय इति।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods·—(A man) sees only his good act, saying "this good act has been done by me". For this reason (a man) does not see his sinful or wrong act, saying "this sinful act has been done by me, or that this is what is called a transgression or an evil." This indeed is difficult to examine (i.e., such introspection is hard to make). But a man should see that the following things lead to (such) a transgression, namely, fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride and jealousy, (and he should say—) "by reason of this may I not be blamed (by others) [or, may I not have a fall]". This must surely or truly (or very much) be seen to—"this is (good) for me in this world and this is (good) for me, to some extent, in the world hereafter".

WORD NOTES

(1) नोमिन or नोमिना—Equivalent to Pali 'न इमिना' and to both Sanskrit and Pali 'न अनेन' i.e., not on account of this (reason). It will be wrong to translate the phrase as 'नो मनाक्', as some scholars think.

(2) आसिनव—Skt. आस्रव . *Vide ante*, p. 86.

(3) पलिभसयिसं—Equivalent to Pali परिभासयिस्स (causative future form) and Skt. परिभाषिष्ये. The root परि+भाष् means to abuse or to defame. We may compare the words परिभाष्यमाणाः in I. 18 and परिभाषे in I. 93 of महावस्तु-अवदान If the root be taken here as भ्रंश् (Skt.) or भस्सति (Pali), it will mean 'to fall down'.

(4) मन (in D-T, R and M versions)—Skt. मनाक् and Pali मन, somewhat or well-nigh. cf. "किञ्चिदीषन्मनागल्पे" इत्यमरः.

EDICT IV (TEXT)

D-T—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हव	आह(.—)	सडुवीसति-वस(2)-अभिसितेन
D-M—		—	—	—	—	—	—	——
A—		—	—	—	—	—	—	——
R—	(14)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हवं	आह(.—)	सडुवीसति-वसाभिसितेन
M—	(17)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह(:—)	सडुवीसति-वसाभिसितेन
Rm—	(12)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हवं	आह(—)	सडुवीसति ——

D-T—	मे	इयं	धंमलिपि	लिखापिता (1)	लजूका	मे(3)बहूसु	पानसतसहसेसु
D-M—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
A—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R—	मे	इयं	धंमलिपि	लिखापित (1)	लजूका	मे बहूसु	पानसतसहसेसु
M—	मे	इयं	धमलिपि	लिखापित (1)	लजूका	मे(18)बहूसु	पानसतसहसेसु
Rm—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

D-T—	जनसि	आयता(—)तेसं	ये	अभिहाले	वा(4)	दंडे	वा	अतपतिये
D-M—	—	——		—	—	—	—	—
A	—	——		—	—	—	—	—
R— (15)	जनसि	आयत(—)तेसं	ये	अभिहाले	व	दंडे	व	अतपतिये
M—	जनसि	आयत(—)तेसं	ये	अभिहाले	व	दंडे	व	अतपतिये
Rm—(13)	जनसि	आयत(—)तेसं	ये	अभिहाले	व	दंडे	व	अतपति—

D-T—	मे कटे (,)	कि	ति (?)	लजूका	अस्वथ	अभीता (5)	कंमानि
D-M—	——	—	—	—	—	—	—
A—	——	—	—	—	—	—	—
R—	मे कटे (,)	कि	ति (?)	लजूका	अस्वथ	अभीत	कमानि
M—	मे कटे (;)	कि	ति (?)	लजूका	अस्वथ (19)	अभीत	कंमानि
Rm—	——	—	—	—	—	—	—

D-T—	पवतयेवृ	जनम	जानपदमा		ह्तिमुखं	उपदहेव्	(6)	अनुगहिनेवु	चा	(।)
D-M—	—	——			—	—		—	—	—
A—	—	——			—	—		—	—	—
R—	पवतयेवृ ति	जनस	जानपदस	(16)	हितमुखं	उपदहेवु		अनुगहिनेवु	च	(।)
M—	पवतयेवृ ति	जनम	जानपदम		हितमुखं	उपदहेवृ		अनुगहिनेवु	च	(।)
Rm—	—	——		(14)	हितसुखं	उपदहेवु		अनुगहिनेवु	च	(।)

D-T—	मुखीयन—दुखीयनं		जानिमंति	ध'मयुतेन	च	(7)	वियोवदिमंति	जनं
D-M—	——		—	—		—	— —	—
A—	——		—	—		—	— —	—
R—	मुखीयन—दुखीयनं		जानिमंति	ध'मयुतेन	च		वियोवदिमंति	जनं
M—	मुखीयन—दुखीयनं	(20)	जानिमति	ध'मयुतेन	च		वियोवदिमंति	जनं
Rm—	मुखीयन—दुखी—		—	—	—		—	—

D-T—	जानपदं	(,)	किंति	(?)	हिदतं	च	पालतं	च	(8)	आलाधयेवृ	ति	(।)
D-M—	—		—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—
A—	—		—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—
R—	जानपदं	(,)	किति	(?)	हिदतं	च	पालतं	च		आलाधयेवु		(।)
M—	जानपदं	(,)	किति	(?)	हिदतं	च	पालतं	च		आलाधयेवृ	ति	(।)
Rm—	—		—	—	—		—		(15)	आलाधयेवृ	ति	(।)

D-T—	लजूका	पि	लघंति		पटिचलिट(त)वे	मं	(।)	पुलिमानि	पि	मे
D-M—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—
A—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—
R—	लजूका	पि	लघंति		पटिचलितवे	मं	(।)	पुलिसानि	पि	मे
M—	लजूका	पि	लघंति	(21)	पटिचलितवे	मं	(।)	पुलिमानि	पि	मे
Rm—	लजूका	पि	लघंति		पटिचलितवे	मं	(।)	—	—	—

D-T—	(9)	छंदंनानि	पटिचलिमंति	(,)	ते	पि	च	कानि	वियोवदिमंति
D-M—		——	——		—	—	—	—	— —
A—		——	——		—	—	—	—	— —
R—		छंद'नानि	पटिचलिसंति	(;)	ते	पि	च	कानि	वियोवदिसंति
M—		छंद'नानि	पटिचलिसंति	(;)	ते	पि	च	कानि	वियोवदिसंति
Rm—		——	——		—	—	—	—	— —

D-T— येन मं लजूका (10) चघंति आलाधयितवे (।) अथा हि
D-M— (2) (लजूका) चघंति (आ)ला(धयितवे) (।) (3)
A— —— — — — — — —
R— येन मं (18) लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (।) अथा हि
M— येन मं लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (।) (22) अथा हि
Rm—(16)— — — (16) चघंति आलाधयितवे (।) अथा हि

D-T— पज वियताये धातिये निमिजितु (11) अस्वथे होति (—)
D-M— — — — — तु अस्व(थे हो)ति (—)
A— — — — — — — — —
R— पजं वियताये धातिये निमिजितु अस्वथे होति (—)
M— पजं वियताये धातिये निमिजितु अस्वथे होति (—)
Rm— पजं वियताये धातिये नि— — — — (—)

D-T— वियत धाति चघति मे पज' सुखं पलिहटवे (,) (12) हेवं ममा
D-M— (विय — — — — — — लि(ह)टवे (,) हेवं ममा
A— — — — — — — — — — —
R— वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति(,) (19) हेवं मम
M— वियत धाति चघति मे अज' सुखं पलिहटवे ति(,) (23) हेवं मम
Rm— — — — — — — — — —

D-T— लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (,) येन एते अभीता
D-M— लजू(का) — — — — ये (,) येन एते अभीता
A— —— — — — — — — — —
R— लजूका कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (,) येन एते अभीत
M— लजूका कट जानपजस हितसुखाये (,) येन एते अभीत
Rm— — — (17) जानपदस हितसुखाये (,) येन एते अभीत

D-T— (13) अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेबू ति (।) एतेन मे लजूकानं
D-M— अस्वथ मं— — — (प)वतयेबू ति (।) एतेन मे(7) (लजू)कानं
A— —— ——— —— ———
R— अस्वथा मंतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेबू ति (।) एतेन मे लजूकानं
M— अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेबू ति (।) एतेन मे लजूकानं
Rm— अस्वथा — — — — — — —

D-T— (14) अभीहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (।) इछितविये हि एसा (,)
D-M— — — — — अतपतिये (कटे) (।) (8) इछितवि— — —(,)
A— — — —— —— —— ——
R— अभिहाले व (20) दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (।) इछितविये हि एस ( )
M— अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (।) इछितविये हि एस (,)
Rm— —— — — — — — (18) इछितविये हि एस (।)

D-T— किंति (?) (15) वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (।) अव इते पि च मे
D-M— — — — — हालसमता च सिया (9) दंडसम— — (।) — — — —(मे)
A— — — — — हालसमता चा सिया दंडसमता च (।) — — — —मे
R— किंति (?) वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (।) आवा इते पि च मे
M— किति (?) वियोहालसमता च सिय दडसमता च (।) (25) आवा इते पि च मे
Rm— किंति (?) वियोहालसमता च सिय — — — — — —

D-T— आवुति (—) (16) बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि
D-M— आवुति (—) बंधनब(धा)नं (10) मुनिसान(ं) — —वधानं तिंनि
A— आवुति (—) बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि
R— आवुति (—) बंधनबधानं (21) मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि
M— आवुति (—) बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधान तिंनि
Rm— — — — — —(19) तिंनि

D-T— दिवसानि मे (17) योते दिंने (।) नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति
D-M— दिवसानि (मे) (11) योते दिंने (।) — — — —पयिस(ति)
A— दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (।) (17) — व कानि निझपयिसंति
R— दिवसानि मे योते दिने (।) नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति
M— दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (।) नातिका व कानि (26) निझपयिसंति
Rm— दिवसानि मे (यो)ते दिंने (।) नातिका व कानि निझ— —

D-T— जीविताये तानं (,) (18) नासंतं वा निझपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
D-M— जीविताये तानं (,) (12) नासंत वा नि— — —ति पालतिकं
A— जीविताये तानं (,) नासंतं वा निझपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
R— जीविताये तानं (,) नासतं व निझपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
M— जीविताये तानं (,) नासंतं व निझपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
Rm— — — — — — — ——

D-T—		उपवासं	व	कछति	(।)	(19)	इछा हि मे (—) हेवं		निलुधसि	पि	कालम्हि
D-M—	(13)	उ(प)वासं	वा	क—	(।)		— —(—) हेवं		निलुधसि	पि	(का)लसि
A—		उपवासं	वा	कछंति	(।)	(19)	— मे (—) हेवं		निलुधम्हि	पि	कालम्हि
R—		उपवासं	व	कछंति	(।)		इछा हि मे (—) हेवं		निलुधम्हि	पि	कालसि
M—		उपवास	व	कछंति	(।)		इछा हि मे (—) हेवं	(27)	निलुधम्हि	पि	कालसि
Rm—		—	—	—	—(20)		इछ हि मे (—) हेवं		निलुधति	पि	कालम्हि

D-T—		पालतं	आलाधयेवू	ति	(,)		जनस	च	(20)	वढति	विविधे		धंमचलने
D-M—	(14)	(पा)लतं	आलाधये—		(,)		—	—		वढति	विविधे	(15)	धंमचलने
A—		पालतं	आलाधयेवु		(,)		जनस	च		वढति	विविधे		धंमचलने
R—		पालतं	आलाधयेवू	ति	(,)	(23)	जनस	च		वढति	विविधे		धंमचलने
M—		पालत	आलाधयेवू	ति	(,)		जनस	च		वढति	विविधे		धंमचलने
Rm—		पालतं	——				———			—	—		—

D-T—	संयमे	दानसविभागे	ति	(।)
D-M—	संयमे	दा(न)——		(।)
A—	सयमे	दान—सविभागे		(।)
R—	सयमे	दान—संविभागे	ति	(।)
M—	सयमे	दान—सविभागे	ति	(।)
Rm—	—	—	——	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवानां प्रिय प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह '—षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता। रज्जुका मम बहुषु प्राण (=प्राणि)-शतसहस्रेषु जने (=जनेषु) आयत्ताः ('आयुक्ता'—कष्टानुवाद.)—तेषा यत् अभिहारे वा दण्डे वा आत्मपत्यं मया कृतं—किमिति ? रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ता अभीता· कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयु , जनस्य जानपदस्य हितसुखं उपदध्युः, (जनं) अनुगृह्णीयुः च। (ते) सुखनं-दु खनं ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्म-युक्तेन व्यववदिष्यन्ति (व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति इति केचित्) जनं जानपदं किमिति (?)इहत्यं च पारत्र्यं च आराधयेयु· इति। रज्जुका· अपि रंहन्ति (लघन्ते, रघन्ते वा) प्रतिचरितुं माम्। पुरुषा अपि मम छन्दज्ञा· प्रतिचरिष्यन्ति , ते अपि कान् व्यववदिष्यन्ति, येन मा रज्जुका· शक्ष्यन्ति आराधयितुम्। यथा हि प्रजा व्यक्तायै धात्र्यै निसृज्य (जन) आश्वस्त· भवति—व्यक्ता धात्री शक्ष्यति मम प्रजा सुखं (=सुखेन) परिहर्त्तुं, एवं मम रज्जुका· कृताः जानपदस्य हितसुखाय ; येन एते अभीता· आश्वस्ता· सन्त· अविमनस कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति। एतेन मया रज्जुकानां अभिहारे वा दण्डे वा आत्मपत्यं कृतम्।

एष्टव्यं हि एतत् किमिति (?) व्यवहार-समता च स्यात् दण्ड-समता च। यावत् इतः अपि च मम आयुक्तिः —बन्धन-बद्धानां मनुष्याणां तीरित-दण्डानां प्राप्त-वधानां त्रीणि दिवसानि मया यौतकं दत्तम्। ज्ञातिकाः वा कान् निध्यापयिष्यन्ति जीविताय तेषां, न सन्तं वा निध्यापयिता, (= न सन्ति वा निध्यापयितारः) दानं दास्यन्ति, पारत्रिकं उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति। इच्छा हि मम एवं निरुद्धे अपि काले (=निरोधकाले अपि) पारत्रं आराधयेयुः इति, जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्म-चरणं संयमः दान-संविभागः इति।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods —by me, having been consecrated twenty-six years, this Edict of the Law (of piety) was caused to be written My (high officers of the designation of) Rajjukas are placed in charge of many hundreds of thousands of lives amongst my subjects. I have granted to them full freedom or independence in the matter of bringing an accusation or plaint, or punishing (offenders), and why? The Rajjukas, feeling confident and being fearless, may execute all their works (or conduct business), may make arrangements for the welfare and happiness of the people of the country-side and may grant favours (on them). They will know the cause of (their) happiness and misery and will specially exhort or warn or give instruction to the people of the country-side through the officers of the Law (of piety). Why so? So that they may work to gain the blessings of both this life and the life hereafter My Rajjukas also engage themselves or strive to give service to me. My agents or servants also, knowing my will, give service (to me) They (agents) will also exhort some people and for this reason, the Rajjukas will be able to please (or serve) me Just as (a person), having made over his child to a skilful or wise nurse, feels confident (with the idea) that the skilful nurse will easily be able to protect my child. Thus (with such an idea), my Rajjukas have been appointed for the welfare and happiness of my country-people, with the purpose that they being fearless, feeling confident and not becoming depressed or disconsolate in mind, will execute their works For this reason have I granted full freedom to the Rajjukas in the matter of arrest and punishment, For, this is to be desired for—what is that? That there should be uniformity in judicial procedure and also uniformity in the criminal. So far too, in this matter, my rule (or injunction) is that—with regard to men, who are confined to prison and later sentenced to death, after their punishment has been adjudicated (or settled in court), a grace (a respite) of three days is granted by me. Their relatives (during this reprieve) will make some (of the Rajjukas) to ponder (as a revision or review case) over the question of saving their life

(i.e., by submission of an appeal for life concession) If there does not occur any such person for making them reconsider (the matter), they (the condemned persons) may (by themselves) will give alms or gifts, or will observe fasts (for benefits) in the other world. For, this is (also) my desire that even in the time of confinement or imprisonment (they) may (strive to) gain (the benefits of) the next world; and there may increase at the same time, among the people, manifold virtuous practices, self-control and distribution of gifts (or charity).

WORD-NOTES

(1) लजूका—Seems to be formed from रज्जु (a rope) and not from राजा. Rajjukas are Highest Executive Officers who are entitled to make use of a rope for binding offenders, rather social *kantakas* (i.e., they are बन्धनाधिकारिण·). We may compare such officers with the two High Functionaries amongst the eighteen mentioned by Kautilya in his अर्थशास्त्र (B.K. I. 12), namely the *praśāstrs* (=*Kārāgārādhikārins* of महाभारत and *bandhanāgārādhikritas* of रामायण) and the *pradeśtrs* (the magistrates who try criminal cases connected with कण्टकशोधनाधिकृत-affairs). Some scholars suggest रज्जका or राज्यका. in this connection.

(2) आयता—आयत्ताः, being in the disposition of, placed in charge of, set over. Not probably आयुक्ता , appointed.

(3) अभिहाले—अभिहारे, from अभि+हृ, to bring near (i.e., by arrest), to make a brisk attack, अभिहार is also=अभियोग, which in Law means an accusation, a charge, a plaint, an indictment. Cf. Amara—"अभिहारोऽभियोगे च चौर्ये संनहनेऽपि च". For the sense of याज्ञवल्क्य cf. (II. 9) "अभियोगमनिस्तीर्य नैनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत्". Amara also has "अभिहारोऽभिग्रहणम्" (आभिमुख्येन ग्रहणम् इत्यर्थ. i.e., a sudden frontal arrest). The context of *danda* in the Edict fits in well with such meaning. 'Offer of any favour' does not even seem to be the far-fetched meaning of the word here. The word अभिहार in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 387) means, however, the offer of food etc.

(4) अतपतिये—आत्मपत्य', self-independence. Not आत्मपतिक .

(5) धंमयुतेन—धर्म्मयुक्त's are officers employed in the work of propagation of the *dhamma*. Their rank is below that of the *Dhammamahāmātas*.

(6) वियोवदिसंति—अव+वद् in Pali means to exhort, to admonish (ओवदति). Here it is वि+अव+वद् (future tense), will specially exhort. It is not व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति as some take it.

(7) लघंति—The roots रघि and लघि are भ्वा-आ-से and गत्यर्थक (रघन्ते, लघन्ते) The root रहि is भ्वा-प-से and is also गत्यर्थक giving the form रंहति.

(8) छंदंनानि—Skt छन्दज्ञाः, Pali छन्दञ्ञू.

(9) चघंति—Cf. the word चकिये in the phrase 'ए चकिये खमितवे' in Kalinga (Separate) Edict I (Dhauli) and चकिये (M.R.E I, Sa), and also the word छकिये in the phrase 'ए छकिये खमितवे' in the same Edict (Jaugada) The root in Aśokan dialect is चक् or छक्=शक्. Cf. सकिये M.R.E. I (M). There seems to be no doubt that the same root is used in the word चघंति in this Edict, so its equivalent Sanskrit form is शक्ष्यन्ति (in future tense) Another form चघति in this Edict is equal to शक्ष्यति. Again the form चघथ in Kalinga (Separate) Edict II (Dhauli) is to be translated as शक्ष्यथ in Skt. The root शक् takes also the form of चय् according to Hem. IV 85 (शकेश्चय-तर-तीर-पाराः).

(10) वियताये—Skt. व्यक्तायै (wise, intelligent). Pali वियत्त, accomplished. Cf. Amara "व्यक्त प्राज्ञेऽपि" and Medinī "व्यक्त· स्फुटमनीषिणोः".

(11) निसिजितु—A gerund form निसृज्य, delivering over to. Cf. the Aśokan word सुतु=श्रुत्वा in P.E. VII.

(12) पलिहटवे—An infinitive form परिहर्तुं. Pali परि+हृ is to protect, 'to save'.

(13) संतं—Pali समाना, Skt. सन्तः. Cf. the phrase 'नासंतं वा निझपयिता' in this Edict which in Skt. should be न सन् वा निध्यापयिता i.e. न-सति=असति निध्यापयितरि. नासंतं should not be translated as नश्यन्तं in Skt.

(14) अव, आवा— =Skt यावत्.

(15) आवुति— =Skt. आयुक्तिः, injunction, order, rule. Cf. आलाधयेवु, उपदहेवु, अनुगहिनेवु ('व' for 'य').

(16) तीलि(ती)तदंडानं—Skt. तीरितदण्डानां. The Skt. roots तीर and पार are used in कर्मसमाप्ति. तीरयति, to settle, finish, adjudicate. The word means 'on whom sentence of punishment has been decided or adjudicated', Cf. the word तीरित used in Manu IX. 233 ("तीरितं चानशिष्टं यत्र क्वचन यद् भवेत्। कृतं तद्धर्मतो विद्यान्न तद् भूयो निवर्तयेत्"—Here the reference is to the fact that no question of a revival or revision of a punishment should arise in a case which has lawfully been adjudicated and declared by a Court. But here Aśoka grants a concession of three days, for a review.

(17) योते—Skt. यौतकं, also यौतुकं, which generally means the property given at marriage, a dowry. But the word also means, 'a present'. Hence a rightful gift, a grace, a concession, a privilege. The form seems to be equated with Skt योत्तं ot योतं (Pali योत्त) or योक्तृ' which, however, means a string or rope, specially a cord, that fastens the yoke of a plough to the neck of the ox. But this meaning does not fit in with the context.

(18) निझपयिसंति—Skt. निध्यापयिष्यन्ति from नि+ध्यै+णिच्—will be made to ponder (if the case can be reviewed). The criminal's case consists of four stages in all, *viz* (1) accused stage, (2) trial-decision stage, (3) execution stage and (4) review-concession stage.

(19) निलुधसि कालसि—An Aśokan idiom=Skt निरुद्धे काले (i.e. निरोध-काले), during the period of confinement, restraint or imprisonment.

(20) नासंतं—Vide note 13 above.

(21) दान-सविभागे (संविभागे)—संविभाग (proper distribution, or sharing with others) of gifts, co-partnership in charities.

EDICT V (TEXT)

D-T—	(1) देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	अहा	(:—)सडुवीसतिवस(2)	अभिसितेन
D-M—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—
A—		पिये	पियदसी	लाजा	हेवं	आहा	(·—)सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन	
R—	(1) देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह	(:—)सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस	
M—	(1) देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह	(·—)सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस	

D-T	मे	इमानि		जातानि	अवधियानि	कटानि	(,) से	यथा (3)	सुके	सालिका
D-M—	—	—		—	—	—		—	—	—
A—	मे	इमानि		जातानि	अवधियानि	कटानि	(,) से	यथ	सुके	सालिका
R—	मे	इमानि	पि	जातानि	अवध्यानि (2)	कटानि	(,) से	यथ	सुके	सालिक
M—	मे	इमानि	पि (2)	जातानि	अवध्यानि	कटानि	(,) से	यथा	सुके	सालिक

D-T— अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे (4) जतूका अंम्बाकपीलिका दडी
D-M— — — — — — —— ——
A— अलुने चकवाके — (21)—मुखे गेलाटे जतूके अंम्बाकिपिलिका दडी
R— अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक (3) अंम्बाकपिलिक दुडि
M— अलुने चकवाके हंसे (3) नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंम्बाकपिलिक दुडि

D-T— अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके (5) गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट—सयके
D-M— —— —— —— —— ——
A— अनथिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट— के
R— अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट—सेयके (4)
M— अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके (4) गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट—सेयके

D-T— पंनससे सिमले (6) संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकोपते गामकपोते
DM— — — — — — — —
A— पंनससे सिमले सं—(22) — — —कपोते गामकपोते
R— पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
M— पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे (5) पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते

D-T— (7) सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (1)—(नि) (8) एडका चा
D-M— — — — — — ———
A— सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं — — ———
R— सवे चतुपदे(5)ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (1) अजका नानि एडका च
M— सवे चतुपदे ये पडिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति(6) (1) अजका नानि एडका च

D-T— सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधि(य)— पोतके
D-M— — — — — (अव)(धिय)— (पोतके)
A— — — — — —— — —
R— सूकली च गभिनी प पायमीना व (6) अवध्य पोतके
M— सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके

D-T— पि च कानि आसंमासिके (।) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (।) तुसे सजीवे
D-M— पि च कानि (2) —के (।) (वधि)कुकुटे नो कटविये (।) तुसे स(जीवे)
A— — — — — — —
R— च कानि आसंमासिके (।) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (।) तुसे सजीवे
M— च कानि (7) आसंमासिके (।) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (।) तुसे सजीवे

D-T— (10) नो झापेतविये (।) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो झापेतविये (॥) (।)
D-M— (2) — —(तविये) (।) दावे अन(ठा)ये वा विहिसाये वा नो (4) (झापेतविये) (।)
A— — — — — — —नो झा —
R— नो झापयितविये (।) दावे (6) अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो झापयितविये (।)
M— नो झापयितविये (।) दाने अनठाये व(8)विडिसाये व नो झापयितविये (।)

D-T— जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (।) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुंनमासियं
D-M— जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (।) तीसु चातुंमासीसु (5) तिसायं पुंनमा(सि)यं
A— — — — — — — — —
R— जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (।) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं (8) पुंनमासियं
M— जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (।) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसिय पुंनमासियं

D-T— (12) तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा (13)अनुपोसथं
D-M— तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडस(6) पटिपदा(ये) धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
A— — — चा(वुद)सं पंचद(सं) — — —
R— तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
M— तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं

D-T— मछे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (।) एतानि येव दिवसानि
D-M— मछे अवधिये नो पि (7) विकेतविये (।) एतानि येव दिवसानि
A— — — — — — —(तानि) — —
R— मछे अवध्ये नो पि (9) विकेतविये (।) एतानि येव दिवसानि
M— मछे अवध्ये (10) नो पि विकेतविये (।) एतानि येव दिवसानि

D-T—(14)नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि(15)नो हंतवियानि (।)
D-M— नागवनसि केवटभोगसि(8)(या)—अं-(नि) पि जीवनिकायानि (,) नो (हं)तवियानि (।)
A— — — — — — ———
R— नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायनि(,)(10)नो हंतवियानि(।)
M— नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि पि(11)जीवनिकायानि (,) नो हतवियानि (।)

D-T— अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये (16) पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु
D-M— अठ(मी) -ये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये (10) पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु
A— अ— — — — — — ——
R— अटमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु
M— अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये यंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने (12) तीसु चातुंमासीसु

D-T— सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये (।) (17) अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि
D-M— सुदिवसाये (गो)ने(11)(नो नी)ल(खि)तविये (।) अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि
A— —— —— —— —— —— ——
R— (11) सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये (।) अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि
M— सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये (।) अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि

D-T— अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (। (18) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासीये
D-M—(12)अं(ने) नीलखियति (नो) नीलखितविये (।) तिसाये पुनावसुने (13) चातुंमासीये
A— — — — —— — — —
R— अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (।) (12) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासीये
M — अंने (13) नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (।) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंम।सीये

D-T— चातुंमासिपखाये अखसा गोनसा (19) लखने नो कटविये (।)
D-M— चातुंमासिपखाये अखसा गोनसा लखने (14) नो —विये (।)
A— —— — — — — — —
R— चातुंमासिपखाये अखस गोनस लखने नो कटविये (।)
M— चातुंमासिपखाये अखस गोनस (14) लखने नो कटविये (।)

D-T—		याव	सङ्कवीसतिवस—अभिसितेन	मे	एताये	(20)	अ(ं)तलिकाये
D-M—		याव	सङ्कवीसति(व)स—अभिसितेन	मे	एताये	(15)	अंतलिकाये
A—		(वाव)	स — —	—	—	—	—
R—	(13)	वाव	सङ्कवीसतिवसाभिसितस	मे	एताये		अंतलिकाये
M—		याव	सङ्कवीसतिवसाभिसितेन	मे	एताये		अंतलिकाये

D-T—	पंनवीसति		बंधनमोखानि	कटानि	(।)
D-M—	पंनवी(स)ति		बंधनमोखानि	कटानि	(।)
A—	——	(28)	——	——	
R —	पंनवीसति		बंधनमोखानि	कटानि	(।)
M—	पंनवीसति	(15)	बंधनमोखानि	कटानि	(।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवाना प्रिय· (देवप्रिय) प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह :—षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इमानि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि, तद्यथा—शुकः, सारिका (शारिका वा), अरुणः, चक्रवाकः, हंसः, नन्दीमुखः, गेराट· (गोराटी, गोराटिका, गोरङ्कु ?), जतुका (जतूका वा), अम्बापिपीलिका, दुडिः (डुलि), अनस्थिक-मत्स्य·, वेदवेयक (?), गङ्गापुपुटक (?) शङ्कोचः (शङ्कोचि वा शङ्कचिः), कमठ-शल्लकौ, पर्णशशः, सृमरः, षण्डकः, ओक पिण्डः, पलाशाद·, श्वेतकपोत·, ग्रामकपोत·, सर्वः चतुष्पदः यः प्रतिभोगं न एति न च खाद्यते। अजका का एडका सूकरी गर्भिणी वा पाययन्ती (पयस्विनी इत्यर्थः) वा अवध्या ; पोतकाः अपि च मे अषाण्मासिका। वध्रिकुक्कुटः न कर्तव्य·। तुषः सजीवः न ध्मापयितव्यः (दाहयितव्यः)। दावः अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा न ध्मापयितव्य· (दाहयितव्य·) जीवेन जीवः न पोषितव्यः। तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु तिष्ये पौर्णमास्यां, त्रीणि दिवसानि—चतुर्दशी पञ्चदशी प्रतिपत् (एतासु तिथिषु इत्यर्थः) ध्रुवं च अनूपवसथं (अनूपोषितं वा) मत्स्यः अवध्य·, न चापि विक्रेतव्य·। एतानि एव दिवसानि नागवने, कैवर्तभोगे (कैवर्ताभोगे ?) ये अन्ये अपि जीवनिकायाः, [ते] न हन्तव्याः। अष्टमीपक्षे (प्रतिपक्षं अष्टम्यां), चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां तिष्यायां पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे गौः न निर्लाञ्छितव्यः। अजकः एडकः सूकरः, यः वा अपि अन्यः निर्लाञ्छ्यते [सः] न निर्लाञ्छितव्यः, तिष्ये (तिष्यायां वा) पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां, चातुर्मासीपक्षे अश्वस्य गोः (च) लक्षणं न कर्तव्यम्। यावत् षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया एतस्मिन् अन्तरिके (अन्तरे वा) पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धनमोक्षाः कृताः।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—Having been consecrated towenty-six years I made the following creatures exempt from slaughter—namely, parrots, starlings, redbreasts or robins (according to some, red storks or cranes), ruddy geese, swans, *nandimukhas* (a kind of water-birds), *gelātas* (a kind of water-fowls), bats, ants living in mango-trees(?), small tortoises, boneless fish, *vedaveyakas*(?), *gangāpuputakas* (Gangetic cocks?), skatefish, tortoises and frogs (शल्लक's ; and porcupines, if taken as शल्यक's), hares or rabbits living in the boughs of trees (according to same, squirrels), (swift-running) deer, bulls (castrated ones), animals seeking for their food in houses, (e.g., monkeys, mice, cats, etc. i.e. vermins), rhinoceroses, grey pigeons, village-doves, and all (other) four-footed animals which do not come into any use, nor are eaten. Those she-goats, ewes and sows which are pregnant or are in milk are not (also) subject to slaughter, as well as their offsprings which have not attained six months of age. Cocks are not to be made caponed. Husk (chaff) should not be set on fire along with living creatures (in the same). Forests should not (also) be set fire to, for the purpose of any mischief or injury to life. No living being is to be nourished by (another) living being. No fish is to be killed or sold on three seasonal full-moon days and at the full-moon day of the month of Tishya (Pausha), for three days, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth days (of the particular fortnight) and the (next) first day (of the second fortnight), as also constantly on every (*uposatha* or) fast-day. On the very same days, in elephant-forests and fish-preserves of the fishermen, other varieties of animals also are not to be killed. On the eighth day of a fortnight, the fourteenth and fifteenth days (also), on the Tishyā and Punarvasu days, on the three seasonal full-moon days and on all auspicious days, no bull is to be castrated, nor may any he-goats, rams and boars and other animals which are liable to castration, be castrated. No branding of horses and oxen should be made on the Tishyā and Punarvasu days, on the (three) seasonal full-moon days and throughout the days of the fortnight of the seasonal full-moons. Up till now, having been consecrated twenty-six years I have ordered for twenty-five jail-deliveries (i.e., granting of freedom from imprisonment).

WORD NOTES

(1) अलुने—Skt अरुण, a red-breasted small bird of game, or a red stork (सारस or वक).

(2) The animals and birds represented by the terms नंदीमुखे, गेलाटे, वेदवेयके, and गंगापुपुटके cannot be satisfactorily identified. There is a kind of water-fowl which goes by the name of गोरङ्कु, but it is difficult to conjecture it as equivalent to गेलाट or गेराट.

(3) अम्बा-कपीलिका—Pali किपिल्लिका or पिपिल्लिका (=Skt. पिपीलिका). We may take अम्बा here as आम्र. Cf. अम्बावडिक्या (P. E. VII).

(4) दुडी, दुडि—May either be a small kind of tortoise, or a turtle which is called डुलि.

(5) संकुजमछे—शङ्कुचि, शङ्कोचः or शङ्कोचिः, a skate-fish.

(6) कफट-सयके— =कमठ-शल्लकौ. शल्लक=frog, शल्यक=porcupine.

(7) पलसते— =Pali पलासाद, rhinoceros.

(8) पायमीना—From Pali पायेति (=Skt. पाययति), to give to drink, to give suck. Not to be translated as पयस्विनी. In M and AMg. mina is a suffix of pr. part., equivalent to māna. Pischel 138 & 562.

(9) बधि-कुकुटे—The Sanskrit बध्रि means 'one whose testicles are cut out' i.e., a castrated cock here. Cf. the R.V. word 'बध्रिमती', a woman who has an impotent husband.

(10) झापेतविये—Pali झापेति, to burn, to set on fire (causative of झायति=क्षायति Skt. root क्षै to mean क्षय, Pāṇini 913, भ्वादि-प-से, to burn, intransitive) =क्षापयितव्य. (दाहयितव्यः). It is not from झायति=ध्यायति (ध्यै धातु) to meditate.

(11) चातुंमासीषु—These are the three full-moon days (in the three groups of four months in each year) viz., the full-moons of the months of Āshāḍha, Kārtika, and Phālguna. Cf. Kautilya's use of the चातुर्मास्येषु in XIII 5.

(12) अनुपोसथं—Skt. उपवसथ, a fast day (उपोषित—a fast)=Pali पोसथ and उपोसथ—Buddhist sabbath day during which bi-weekly recitation of Vinaya precepts takes place, a day of observing a fast. We have the word उपोषध in Buddhist Sanskrit, and copiously in the महावस्तु-अवदान (cf. I. 255, II. 177, III. 97-98).

(13) नागवनसि—For नागवन (elephant-preserves), नागपाल and नागवनाध्यक्ष, vide Kautılya BK II. Chap. II.

(14) केवटभोगसि—कैवर्त्त-भोगे (Is ıt कैवर्त्ताभोगे ?) ı.e., ın ponds etc. lyıng ın their extensıve jurısdıctıon ın fish preserves

(15) तिसायं—तिष्ये (ın the month of पौष).

(16) अठमीपखाये—ı e , पक्षाष्टम्यां, on each अष्टमीतिथि day ın every fortnight

(17) बंधनमोखानि—Cf the verse ın BK. II. chap 36 of Kautılya's *Artbaśāstra* —

"अपूर्वदेशाधिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने । पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते ॥"

Cf. also for release of prısoneıs the phrase 'सर्वबन्धनमोक्षणं' used in the same book (BK. XIII. 5).

EDICT VI (TEXT)

D-T—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह (·—)	दुवाडस(2)वस-अभिसितेन
A—	(28)	—	—	पियदसि	ला—	—	——	———
R—	(14)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह (:—)	दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन
M—	(16)	देवानं	पिये	पियदसि	लाज	हेवं	आह (:—)	दुवाडसवमाभिमितेन

D-T—	मे धंमलिपि	लिखापिता	लोकस (3)	हितसुखाये (1)	से तं	अपहटा
A—	— —	—	—	—	—	—
R—	मे धंमलिपि	लिखापित	लोकस (15)	हिससुखाये (1)	से तं	अपहट
M—	मे धंमलिपि	लिखापित	लोकस (17)	हितसुखाये (1)	से तं	अपहट

D-T—	तं तं	धंमवढि	पापोवा (1) (4)	हेवं	लोकसा	हितसुखे ति	पटिवेखामि(—)
A—	—	—(ढि)	पा— (1)	हेवं	— (29)	हितसुखे ति	पटिवेखामि(—)
R—	तं तं	धंमवढि	पापोव (1)	हेवं	लोकस	हितसुखे ति	पटिवेखामि (—)
M—	तं तं	धंमवढि	पापोव (1)	हेवं	लोकस (18)	हितसुखे ति	पटिवेखामि(—)

D-T—	अथ	इयं (5)	नातिसु	हेवं	पतियासंनेसु	हेवं	अपकठेसु(—)	(6) किमं कानि
A—	अथ	—	—तिसु	—	(या)संने(सु)	हेवं	अपक—(—)	किमं —
R—	(16) अथा	इयं	नातिसु	हेवं	पत्यासंनेसु	हेवं	अपकठेसु(—)	किमं कानि
M—	अथा	इयं	नातिसु	हेवं	पत्यासंनेसु	हेवं	अपकठेसु(—)	(19) किमं कानि

D-T— सुखं अवहामी ति (,) तथा च विदहामि (।) हेमेवा (7) सव—निकायेसु पटिवेखामि (।)

A— — — —— ——दहामि (।) हेवंमेव सव— —येसु पटिवेखामि (।)

R— सुखं आवहामी ति (,) तथा च विदहामि (।)(17) हेमेव सव—निकायेसु पटिवेखामि (।)

M— सुखं आवहामी ति (,) तथा च विदहामि (।) हेमेव सव—निकायेसु पटिवेखामि (।)

D-T— सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता (8) विविधाय पूजाया (।) ए चु इयं अतुना

A— (30) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (।) ए चु इयं अतना

R— सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (।) ए चु इयं अतन

M— (20) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (।) ए चु इयं अतन

D-T— पचूपगमने (9) से मे मोख्यमते (।) षडुवीसतिवस-अभिसितेन मे (10) इयं

A— पचुपगमने से मे मुख्यमुते (।) — —— — —

R— पचूपगमने (18) से मे मुख्यमुते (।) षडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं

M— पचूपगमने (21) से मे मोख्यमुते (।) षडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं

D-T— धंमलिपि लिखापिता (1)

A— —लिपि लिखापिता ति (1)

R— धंमलिपि लिखापित (1)

M— धंमलिपि लिखापित (1)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवानां प्रियः (देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह :—द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया धर्मलिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हितसुखाय। स (तत् वा) तत् अपहृत्य तां तां धर्मवृद्धिं प्राप्नुयात्। एवं लोकस्य हितसुखे (हितसुखं वा)—प्रत्यवेक्षे—यथा इदं—ज्ञातिषु एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु एवं अपकृष्टेषु—कि कान् (केषा) सुखं आवहामि इति, तथा च विदधामि। एवं एव सर्वनिकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे। सर्व्वपाषण्डाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया। यत् तु इदं आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं, तत् मे मुख्यमतम्। षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपि· लेखिता।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods :—Having been consecrated twelve years I (began) to cause edicts of the Law of piety to be written, for the welfare and happiness of the people, so that they after giving

up or discarding (sinful) way of life might develop various kinds of increase of virtues. Thus I supervise (or attend closely to) the welfare and happiness of the people. Just it is this, I (try to) bring happiness to some amongst my relatives, persons near and persons far off and accordingly I make all arrangements. In a similar way I closely attend to all communities. I have also reverenced all sects with various forms of reverence or worship. But I regard that to be the chief thing which is personal (regardful) approach towards people (or, personal acceptance of a particular creed through one's own will). Having been consecrated twenty-six years I have caused this edict of the Law of piety to be written.

WORD-NOTES

(1) अपहट (टा)—Skt. अपहृत्य. The word is formed thus, अप+हृ+ल्यप् cf. the word पलिहटवे in P E. IV.

(2) सवनिकायेसु—The word निकाय means a body of one's own co-religionists (स्वधर्मिन्'s).

(3) पचूपगमने—Skt. प्रत्युपगमनं, respectful approach towards people for meeting them, or personal acceptance of a particular creed (on account of my spirit of toleration). Cf. the Skt. word प्रत्युद्गमनम्.

EDICT VII (TEXT)

(Occurs only in Delhi-Topra Pillar and not on any others)

[PART I]

(Engraved on the east face of the Pillar)

[I] (11) देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (:—) ये अतिकंतं

(12) अंतलं लाजाने हुसु (,) हेवं इछिसु (:—) कथं जने

(13) धंमवढिया वढेया (?) नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया

(14) वढिथा (।) (II) एतं देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (:—) एष मे

(15) हुथा (,) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने

(16) अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (;) नो च जने अनुलुपाया

(17) धंमवढिया वढिथा (;) से किन सु जने अनुपटिपजेया (;)

(18) किन सु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेयाति (,) किन सु कानि

(19) अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढियाति (?) (III) एतं देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं

(20) आहा (—) एस मे हुथा (,) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि

(21) अनुसासामि (;) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति (,)

[PART II]

(Round the Pillar)

(1) धंमवढिया च वाढं वढिसति (।) एताये अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि (,) धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि (,) य[था मे पुलि]सापि बहुने जनसि आयता (,) एते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (।) लजूका पि बहुकेसु पानसतसहसेसु आयता (,) ते पि मे आनपिता (—) हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ

(2) जनं धंमयुतं (।) [IV] [देवा]नं पिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (·—) एतदेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंमथंबानि कटानि (,) धंममहामता कटा (,) धंमसा[वने] कटे (।) [V] देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (,) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि (,) छायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं (,) अंबावडिक्या लोपापिता (;) अढकोसिक्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि

(3) खानापापितानि (,) निंसिधिया च कालापिता (;) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं (।) ल[हुके चु] एस पटीभोगे नाम (।) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयितो लोके (।) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति (;) एतदथा मे

(4) एस कटे (।) [VI] देवानं पिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (:—) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटा (,) से पवजीतनं चेव गिहिथानं च (,) सव(पासं)डेसु पि च वियापटा (,) से संघठेसि पि मे कटे (,) इमे वियापटा होहंति ति (,) हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे (,)

(5) इमे वियापटा होहंति ति (।) निघंठेसु पि मे कटे (,) इमे वियापटा होहंति (;) नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे (,) इमे वियापटा होहंति ति (।) पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते (ते) (म)हामाता (।) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव विया(प)टा (,) सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (।) [VII] देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (·—)

(6) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापट (,) से मम चेव देविनं च (।) सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आ(का)लेन तानि तानि तुठायत(ना)नि पटी(पादयंति) हिद चेव दिसासु च (।) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानां (,) इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति

(7) धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (।) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च (,) या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साध(वे) च लोकस हेवं वढिमति ति (।) [VIII] देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (—) यानि हि कानि चि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपंने तं च अनुविधियंति (,) तेन वढिता च

(8) वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (।) [IX] देवानं पि(ये) (पि)यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (·—) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निझतिया च (।)

(9) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे (,) निझतिया व भुये (।) धमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे (,) इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (,) अंनानि पि चु बहु(कानि) धमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (।) निझतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भूतानं

(10) अनालंभाये पानानं (।) से एताये अठाये इयं कटे (,) पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति (,) तथा च अंनुपटीपजंतु ति (।) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (।) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिवि लिखापापिता ति (।) [X] एतं देवानं पिये आहा (:—)इयं

(11) धंमलिबि अत अथि सिलाथंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया (,) एन एस चिलठितिके सिया (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवानां प्रियः (देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह :—ये अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं राजानः अभूवन्, (ते) एवं ऐषिषु. ('ऐच्छन्'इत्यर्थः)—कथं जनः धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत, न तु जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट। अत्र (विषये) देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह :—एतत् मे अभूत्—अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं एवं ऐषिषुः राजानः—कथं जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति, न च जन. अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट। तत् केनस्वित् (उपायेन इत्यर्थः) जनः अनुप्रतिपद्येत, केनस्वित् अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति। केनस्वित् कान् (जनान्) अभ्युन्नामयेयं (अहं) धर्मवृद्ध्या इति। अत्र देवानां प्रिय प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आहः—एतत् मे अभूत्—धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावयामि, धर्मानुशिष्टीः अनुशास्मि। एतत् जन· श्रुत्वा अनुप्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नंस्यति, धर्मवृद्ध्या च बाढं वर्द्धिष्यते। एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावितानि, धर्मानुशिष्टय· विविधाः आज्ञापिताः। यथा मया पुरुषाः अपि बहव· जने आयुक्ताः, एते

(अथवा, यत् ते) पर्यववदिष्यन्ति अपि, प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्ति अपि। रज्जुका· अपि बहुकेषु प्राणशत-सहस्रेषु आयत्ता (अयुक्ता·)। ते अपि मया आज्ञापिता· 'एवं च एवं च पर्यववदत जनं धर्मयुक्तम्'। देवाना प्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवं आह—एतत् एव मया अनुवीक्षमाणेन (अन्वेक्षमाणेन) वा धर्मस्तम्भा कृता·, धर्ममहामात्राः कृता·, धर्मश्रावणं कृतम्। देवाना प्रिय· प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह—मार्गेषु अपि मया न्यग्रोधा· रोपिता·, (ते) छायोपगाः (छायोपयोगा· इत्यर्थ) भविष्यन्ति पशु-मनुष्याणाम्; आम्रवाटिका रोपिता·, अर्द्धक्रोशकानि (अर्द्धक्रौशिकानि) उदपानानि खानितानि। निषद्याः च कारिताः। आपानानि मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम्। लघुक· तु एषः प्रतिभोगः नाम। विविधेन हि सुखनेन पूर्व्वै· अपि राजभिः मया च सुखित· लोक। इमां धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तिं अनुप्रतिपद्यतां इति, एतदर्थं (एतदर्थाय) मया एतत् कृतम्। देवाना प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह—धर्ममहामात्रा अपि मया ते बहुविधेषु अर्थेषु आनुग्रहिकेषु व्यापृता·, तत् प्रव्रजिताना च गृहस्थानां च। तत् सर्वपापण्डेषु अपि च व्यापृता·। तत् संघार्थे अपि मया (इदं) कृतं—इमे व्यापृता भविष्यन्ति इति। एवं एव ब्राह्मणेषु आजीविकेषु अपि मया (इदं) कृतम्—इमे व्यापृता· भविष्यन्ति इति। निर्ग्रन्थेषु अपि मया (इदं) कृतं—इमे व्यापृता· भविष्यन्ति। नाना-पाषण्डेषु अपि मया (इदं) कृतं—इमे व्यापृता भविष्यन्ति। प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं तेषु तेषु ते ते महामात्रा·; धर्ममहामात्राः तु मम एतेषु च एव व्यापृता·, सर्वेषु च अन्येषु पाषण्डेषु। देवाना प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह—एते च अन्ये च बहुका· मुख्या· दानविसर्गे व्यापृताः, तत् मम चैव देवीना च। सर्वस्मिन् च मम अवरोधे ते बहुविधेन आकारेण तानि तानि तुष्ट्यायतनानि प्रतिपादयन्ति इह चैव दिशासु (दिक्षु) च। दारकाणा च मया (इदं) कृतं, अन्येषा च देवीकुमाराणां—इमे दानविसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति, धर्माप(व)दानार्थाय धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये। एतत् हि धर्माप(व)दानं धर्मप्रति-पत्तिश्च यत् इदं—दानं सत्यं शौचं (शुचित्वं शौचकं वा) मार्दवं, साधवं (साधुत्वं साधुता वा) च लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते इति। देवाना प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह—यानि च कानिचित् मया साधवानि (साधूनि कर्माणि) कृतानि तानि लोक अनुप्रतिपन्न·, तानि च अनुविधीयन्ते (तेन), (अनु-विदधति वा), तेन वर्द्धिताः वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च (धर्मवृद्धय·, लोकाः वा) मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु शुश्रूषया, वयोमहल्लकानां (वयोमहतां, वयोवृद्धाना इत्यर्थः) अनुप्रतिपत्त्या, ब्राह्मणश्रमणेषु कृपणवराकेषु यावत् दास-भृतकेषु संप्रतिपत्त्या। देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह :—मनुष्याणां तु यत् इयं धर्मवृद्धिः द्वाभ्यां आकाराभ्या—धर्मनियमेन च निध्यात्या (निध्यानेन वा) च; तत्र तु लघुः सः धर्मनियमः, निध्यातिः या एव (निध्यानं एव) (सा) भूयसी। धर्मनियम· च खलु एष·—यत् मया इदं कृतं—इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवध्यानि। अन्ये अपि तु बहुकाः धर्मनियमाः ये मया कृता·। निध्यात्या एव तु भूयः मनुष्याणा धर्मवृद्धिः वर्द्धिता—अविहिंसायै भूतानां अनालम्भाय प्राणानाम्। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं कृतं (यावत्) पुत्रप्रपौत्रका· चन्द्रम·सूर्यौ भवन्तु इति (अथवा, पुत्रप्रपौत्रकं चन्द्रमः-सूर्यकं भवतु इति);—तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां (जनाः)। एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमानानां इहत्य (ऐहत्य)-पारत्र्ये आराधिते भवत·। सप्तविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता इति। एतत् देवानां प्रियः आह :—इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्र सन्ति शिलास्तम्भाः वा शिलाफलकानि वा, तत्र कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिरस्थितिका स्यात्।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(I) Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods.—In times long elapsed there were kings who desired how the people might grow with the growth of the Law of piety. But the people did not grow with proper growth of the Law of piety.

(II) In this matter, thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—This (idea) occurred to me—in times long elapsed the kings thus desired—how the people might grow with proper growth of the Law of piety; they however, did not grow wirh proper growth of the Law of piety. So, by what ways, may the people conform (adopt due course), by what ways may they grow with proper growth of the Law of piety, by what ways may I elevate or lift some of them through the growth of the Law of piety ?

(III) In this matter, thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—The (idea) occurred to me—I will cause sermons on the Law of piety to be preached, (and) I will order for instruction on the law of piety, and having heard this the people will conform (to it), will lift (themselves) up and will surely or exceedingly grow with the growth of the Law of piety For this purpose have I caused sermons on the Law of piety to be preached, and ordered for instructions of many kinds. My servants (or agents) have, in this respect, been set or engaged over many peoples, (so that) they will fully exhort (them) and will expound (my teaching). The Rajjukas too have been set over many hundred thousands of lives and they also have been ordered by me—'In such and such way exhort the body of (*yuta*) officers of the Law of piety.

(IV) Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—Having indeed surveyed (or considered fully) this (purpose) I have caused to be erected pillars of the Law of piety, appointed *dhamma-mahāmātas* (High State-officers or Ministers of the Law of piety) and arranged for announcements or proclamations of the Law of piety.

(V) Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—On the roads also I have got planted banyan-trees so that they may provide shade to beasts and men, have planted mango-orchards, have also got dug wells at every half a *krośa*, have caused to be constructed sale-stalls or (raised seats), and have caused numerous watering-places to be provided here and there for the use of beasts and men. But such use is a small (or insignificant) thing. By various means of (giving) happiness have former Kings and I myself have blessed the people, so that people may conform to the course of the Law of piety. With such intent have I done this.

(VI) Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—I have also employed the High state-officers called *Dhamma-mahāmātas* on many objects

of favour or kindness, which may affect both ascetics and householders and they are also employed among all sects (or denominations). With regard to the interest of the congregation I have so ordered that they shall remain engaged (in their good). I have done this with regard to the Brāhmanas and the Ājīvikas also, so that they should remain employed (for their good). So also have I done this with regard to the Nirgranthas (Jainas), so that they should remain employed (for their good). With regard to various (miscellaneous) sects too I have done this that they should remain employed (for their good). The *mahāmatas* (High state-officers) of various kinds (are employed) to look after their respective duties, but the *dhammamahāmatas* are employed on such things and also on all other sects or denominations.

(VII) Thus says Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods.—These and many other *mukhyas* (chiefs or heads of departments) are engaged in the distribution of charities and this too on my own behalf and that of my queens. In all my harems they become acquainted in many ways with all the (proper) objects where satisfaction is to be arranged, here (in the capital) and in the (different) quarters (of the country). I have also ordered this to be done with regard to my sons, and other princes born of the Queens, they will remain engaged in the distribution of their charities (gifts) so as to promote their noble achievements in the Law of piety and conformity to the same Law. This noble act or achievement in the Law of piety and this conformity to the same Law consist in this that liberality, truthfulness, purity (of mind), gentleness and goodness (or saintliness) may thus grow amongst the people.

(VIII) Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods·—Whatever virtuous deeds I have done, those deeds people will conform to and should be followed by them and thereby the growths of the Law of piety have grown and will grow by means of their hearkening to father and mother, by hearkening to their elders, by their proper regard to people older by age, and by their full consideration towards (or co-operation with) the Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas (ascetics), the miserable and the wretchted, even (by full consideration towards co-operation with) the slaves and the servants.

(IX) Thus says King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods —Among men, this growth of the Law of piety has been possible to grow by two means, namely, by regulations of the Law of piety and by reflection or contemplation. In this matter again, the regulations of the Law of piety are insignificant, reflection, however is of great importance (of a superior nature). Yet such is a regulation of the Law of piety that has been made by me—'such and such creatures are not to be slain'; and I have made also many other (such) regulations of the Law of piety. But by reflection or contemplation alone the growth of the Law of piety has mostly grown among men resulting into want of injury (or violence) to beings, and avoidance of (sacrificial) slaughter of living

creatures. So, for this end, has this been recorded so that my sons and great-grand-sons may obey it and it may remain as long as the sun and the moon last and (they or the people) might also conform to the same. Those who will thus conform to it will be able to gain (the blessings of) this world and the next. By me, having been consecrated twenty-seven years, has been caused to be written this Edict of the Law of piety.

(X) Thus says (the king), the Beloved of the Gods:—wherever pillars of stone or slabs of stone exist, there this Edict of the Law of piety should be engraved so that it may have a long duration (or may long endure).

WORD NOTES

(1) एतं—Skt. अत्र. Cf Pali एत्थ

(2) किनसु—Skt केनस्वित् स्विद् is an indeclinable, implying interrogation or inquiry, often with doubt. Cf. "कास्विदवगुण्ठनवती"—शकुन्तला v. Cf. Pali केनस्सु

(3) सुतु—Skt. श्रुत्वा ; a verbal root with तु affix (Vedic त्वा affix) often stands for a gerundial sense.

(4) आयता—Skt. आयुक्ता·. engaged or employed over, kept in charge of. By assimilation of vowel, उकार becoming अकार Vide Pischel § 177.

(5) पलियोवदिसंति—परि+अव+वद् (future tense), will fully exhort or instruct. Cf. वियोवदिसति in P. E. IV.

(6) अनुवेखमाने—Skt. अनुवीक्षमाणे or अन्वेक्षमाणे Probably a 'न' has been dropped at the end of the word ('अनुवेखमानेन' would have been a better form).

(7) अंबावडिक्या—Skt. आम्रवाटिका. Cf अम्बाकपीलिका P E V

(8) अढकोसिक्यानि—अढ=अर्द्ध, not अष्ट as taken by some scholars. Cf वढिता=वर्द्धिता used in many of the Edicts.

(9) निंसिधिया—Skt. निषद्या·. Amara has "आपणस्तु निषद्यायाम्", used in the sense of a market-place (हट्ट) or a stall for selling goods (क्रय्यवस्तुशाला) Cf. शिशुपालवध XVIII 15. It may also refer to '(raised) seats or couches to sit upon'.

(10) आपानानि—The Skt word आपानं is a पानगोष्ठिका according to Amara ("आपानं पानगोष्ठिका"), a drinking party, a tavern or liquor-shop for drinking in company. But such a meaning does not suit with Aśokan ethics. So it seems proper to refer the word to 'inns or pavilions where water is supplied to travellers when in thirst'.

(11) आजीविकेसु—The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gośāla Mankhaliputra (a contemporary of the Buddha) whose philosophical tenet was 'सव्वे भाया नियया' (सर्व्वे भावा· नियताः) i.e., all phenomena are unalterably fixed He was a believer in destiny.

(12) निगंठेसु—The Sect of the Nirgranthas (Jainas) was established by Mahāvīra (who was also a contemporary of the Buddha).

(13) मुखा—Skt मुख्या (chief officers of the administrative departments).

(14) ओलोधनसि—from अव+रुध्, अवरोधने (i e. अवरोधे), in the harem.

(15) तुठायतनानि—तुष्टि+आयतनानि Real objects which are in need of gratification (i e. the sphere of distribution of charities to deserving persons).

(16) धंमापदाने—Skt. धर्म्मापदानं or धर्म्मावदानं, Pali अपदान=Skt. अवदान and also अपदान. "अवदानं कर्म्मवृत्तम्" इत्यमर.—good or pure acts in a man's life career, great or noble works (achievements).

(17) मदवे—From Skt. मृदु (Pali मद्दव), mildness or gentleness.

(18) साधवे—From Skt. साधु, virtuousness.

(19) वयोमहालकानं—Pali महल्लक, old, adult, elder (of two). This word is frequently used in the महावस्तु-अवदान (Cf. I 262, 302).

(20) संपटीपतिया—Skt. सम्प्रतिपत्तिः Consideration, co-operation

(21) निझतिया—Skt. निध्यातिः (नि+ध्यै, to contemplate, reflect, meditate), cf. Pali झान, concentration of mind.

(22) भुये—Skt. भूयस्, of great importance or value.

(23) अनालंभये—Cf. Skt words आलम्भ· and आलम्भनम्. Skt. root आ+लभ् to kill or immolate a victim in a sacrifice, Cf. शतपथब्राह्मणे—"प्रातर्वै पशूनालभंते, and also याज्ञवल्क्य III. 280 "गर्दभं पशुमालभ्य".

(24) अनुपटीपजंतं—Skt. अनुप्रतिपद्यमानानां, here genetive plural.

* FIRST SEPARATE KALINGA

ROCK EDICT (TEXT)

D—(।) (देवा)नं (पियस) (वचनेन) तोस(लि)यं म(हा)मात (नग)लवि(योहालका)
J— (।) देवान पिये हेवं आहा(—)समापायं महामाता (न)गलवियोहालका

D—(2) — वतविय(—) (अ) (किछि) (द)खामि हकं त इछामि, किंति(?)
J— हे(व) वतविया(:—) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि, किंति(?)

D—(कंस)न (प)टिवेदये हं (3) दुवा(ल)ते च आलभे हं (।) एस च मे
J— (कं)मन (प)टिपातये हं (2) दुवालते च आल(भे) हं (।) ए(स) च मे

D—मोख्यमत दुवाल (एतसि) (अठ)सि(,)अं तुफे(सु) (4) अनुसथि। तुफे हि
J— मोखियमत दुवालं — — (,)अं तुफेसु अनुसथि। (तु)फे हि

D—ब(हू)सु पानसहसेसु आ(यता)(,) पन(यं) (गछेम) सु मुनिसानं (।) सवे
J— बहू(सु) पानसहसेसु आ(यत)(,) पनय (गछेम) सु मु(नि)सानं (।) सवे

D—(2) मुनिसे पजा ममा (।) अथा प(जा)ये इछामि हक(ं)(,) किंति (?)
J— मुनि(से) पजा (।) अथ प(जा)ये इछामि (,) कि(ति (?)

D—(सवेन हि)तसुखेन हिदलोकिक-पाललोकि(काये) (केन ?) यूजेवूति(,) (तथा)
J— सवेन हित(सु)खेन यूयेयूति हिद(लोगि)कपाललोकिकेन(,) (,) (हे)मेव

D— — — मुनिसेसु पि (इ)छामि हकं (।) (नो) च (पापुनाथ)
J— मे इछा सव-मुनिसेसु (।) — — नो च तुफे एतं पापुनाथ

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* These two separate Kalinga Edicts found at Dhauli (in Puri district) and Jaugada (in Ganjam district) in the conquered territory of Kalinga (Orissa) take the place of Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII which we get in the other versions of the series, known generally as the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka.

D—आवागमके (7) इयं अ(ठे) (।) (के छ) व एकपुलि(से)
J— आ(वा)गमके (4) इयं अठे (।) के चा एकपुलिसे(पि)

D— —नाति ए(तं)(,) से पि देसं नो सवं (।) देखत(हि तु)फे
J— (म)नाति —(,) से पि देसं नो सवं (।) देखत हि तुफे

D—एतं, (8) सुवि(हि)ता पि (निति) (।) एकपुलिसे पि(अथि)ये
J— — सुवि(हि)ता पि बहुक (।) अ(थि) ये एति ए(क मुनिसे)

D—बंधनं वा (प)लिकिलेसं वा पापु(ना)ति । तत होति (9) अ(कस्मा)
J—बंधनं (प)लिकिलेसं पि पापुना(ति) । तत (हो)ति (अक)(5)स्मा

D—तेन बंधन(ं)तिक(,) अंने च (ब)हुजने द(वि)ये दुखीयति (।)
J— तेन ब(ं)ध(नं)तिक (,) च वगे बहुके वेद(य)ति (।)

D—तत इछितविये (10) तुफेहि (,) किंति (?) मझं पटिपादयेमा ति (।)
J— तत तुफेहि (इछि)तये (,) किंति (?) मझं (पटि) पादयेम (।)

D—इमे(हि) चु (जा)(तेहि) नो सपटिपजति(,) इसाय आसुलोपेन
J— इमेहि जातेहि नो संपटिपज(ति), इ(सा)(ये) आसुलोपेन

D—(निठू)लियेन तूलनाय अनावुतिय आलसियेन (कि)लम(थे)न (।)
J— निठुलियेन तूलाये (अ)ना(वु)तिये आलसि(येन) (कि)लमथेन (।)

D—से इछितविये (,) किंति (?) एते (12) जा(ता) नो हुवेवु(ममा)ति (।)
J— हेवं इछि(त)विये (,) किंति (?) मे एतानि जातानि नो हेयू ति (।)

D—एत(स) च सव(स) मूले अनासु(लो)पे अ(तू)(ल)ना च निति(य) (।)
J—(स)वस च इयं मूले अनासुलोपे अ(तुलना) च निति(यं) (।)

D—ए किलंते सिया (13) (न) (ते) उग(छ) संचलितवि(ये) तु
J— एयं किलते सि(या) (न) (7) संचलि(तु) उथा(ये)(संच)लित(विये)

D—व(जि)त(वि)ये एतविये वा (।) हेवंमेव ए द(ख्रिये तुफाक (।)
J— तु वजितविये पि एतविये पि (।) नीतिय ए वे दे(ख्रे)ग्रि (।)

D—तेन वतविये (:—) (4) (अं)नंने देखत(—)हेवं च हेवं च (दे)वानं पियस
J— ——— अंनने (नि)भपेतविये(—)(हे)वं च (हेवं) च देवान पि(य)स

D—अनुसथि (।) से महा(फले) एतस (संप)टिपाद (15) (महा)अपाये असंपटिपति (।)
J—अनुसथि (।) (7) महाफले होति ——— असंपटिपति महापाये होति (।)

D—विपटिपादयमीनेहि एतं नथि स्वग(स) आलधि नो लाजालधि (।)
J— विपटिपातयंतं नो स्वग— आलधि नो लाजा(ल)धि (।)

D—(16)दुआहले हि इ(म)स कं(मस) मे कुते मने —अतिलेके (।)
J— दुआहले एतस (कं)मस मे कुते (म)ने —अ—— (।)

D—(सं)पटिपजमीने चु (ए)त(ं) स्वगं (17) आलाधयिसथ(तह)—(अ)ननियं एहथ (।)
J— (अ)—— (9) च आन(ने)यं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (।)

D—इयं च लिपी तिसनखयेन सो(त)विय (18) अंतला पि च (ति)से
J— इयं च लिपी (अ)नुतिसं सोतविया (अंत)ला पि ——

D—(ख)नसि ख(न)सि एकेन पि सो(त)विय (।) हेवं च कलंतं (तु)फे
J— (ख)न(सि) सोतविया ए(केन)पि— व — — —

D—(19)(च)घ(थ) सं(पटि)पादयितवे (।) एताये अथा(ठा)ये (इ)यं लिपि लिखित(ता)
J— ——— (10) तवे (।) एता(ये) च अठाये इयं — खिता लिपी

D—एन (20) नगलवि(यो)(हा)लका स(स्व)तं समयं यु(जे)वू (ति) (नगलज)नस
J— ए(न) महामाता नगलक सस्वतं समयं युजेयु ति

D—अकस्मा (प)लिबोधे व (21) अकस्मा पलिकि(लेसे) व नो सिया(ति)
J— — — ने हि — — — — —

D—एताये च अ(ठा)ये हकं धं (ममहा)म(मा)ते पंचसु पंचसु वसे (22)सु
J— —— —— (11) वसे(सु)

D—नि(खा)मयिसामि ए अखखसे अ(चं)डे सखिनालंभे होसति (।)
J— अनुसंयानं निखामयिसामि म(हा)मातं अचं(डं) (अ)फलहत (।)

D—एतं (अ)ठं जानितु (त)था (23) कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (।)
J— वचनेले(न) — — — — — —

D—उजे(नि)ते पि चु कुमाले एतायेव अठाये (नि)खाम(यिसति)
J— — — (12) (ला)जवचनिक (।) — —

D—(24) एदिस(')मेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिं(नि) वसानि (।)
J— — — — — — — —

D—हेमेव तख(सि)लाते पि (।) अदा अ (25) ते महामाता
J— — — अदा अनुसंयानं

D—निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं
J— निखमिसंति — — — अतने कंमं

D—एतं पि जानिसंति (26) तं पि तथा कलंति अ(थ) लाजिने अनुसथी ति (।)
J— ए(तं) पि (जानि) — — — — — (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्या महामात्राः नगरव्यवहारकाः (एवं) वक्तव्याः —यत् किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि, किमिति ? कर्म्मणा प्रतिपादये अहं द्वारतः च आरभे अहम्। एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारं एतस्मिन् अर्थे, यत् युष्मासु अनुशिष्टिः। यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयत्ताः (आयुक्ताः वा)—"प्रणयं गच्छेम स्वित् मनुष्याणां (सुमनुष्याणा इति केचित्)"। सर्व्वे मनुष्याः प्रजाः मम। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं, किमिति ? सर्व्वेण हितसुखेन ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् इति, तथा सर्व्वमनुष्येषु अपि इच्छामि अहम्। न च प्राप्नुथ—यावद्गमकः अयं अर्थः। कश्चित् वा एकपुरुषः मन्यते (जानाति वा, प्राप्नोति वा) एतत्, सः अपि देशं (एकदेशमित्यर्थ) न सर्व्वम्। पश्यत हि यूयं एतत्—"सुविहिता अपि नीतिः इयम्"। एकपुरुषः अपि अस्ति यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं

वा प्राप्नोति। तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तिकं, अन्य· च बहुजन दवीय· दुःखायते। तत्र एष्टव्यं युष्माभि·, किमिति? "मध्यं प्रतिपादयेम" इति। एभिः तु जातै· न संप्रतिपद्यते—ईर्ष्यया, आशुलोपेन, नैष्ठुर्य्येण, त्वरणया, अनावृत्या (वा अनायुक्तथा), आलस्येन, क्लमथेन। तत् एष्टव्यं, किमिति? एतानि जातानि न भवेयु मम इति। एतस्य च सर्व्वस्य मूलं अनाशुलोप· अत्वरणा च नित्यं (नीत्या वा)। य· क्लान्त स्यात् (स) न उद्गच्छेत् (संचलितुं ?), संचलितव्यं तु, व्रजितव्यं एतव्यं वा। एवमेव यत् द्रष्टव्यं युष्माकम्। तेन वक्तव्यं—अन्योन्यं पश्यत एवं च देवप्रियस्य अनुशिष्टि·। तत् महाफल एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः (महाफलं एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादनं) महापाया असम्प्रतिपत्तिः। विप्रतिपद्यमानैः (विप्रतिपद्यमानाना ?) एतत् नास्ति स्वर्गाराद्धि (स्वर्गाराधनं) न राजाराद्धिः (राजाराधनं)। द्विफल· हि अस्य कर्म्मण मया कृत· मनोऽतिरेक। संप्रतिपद्यमाने तु अत्र (एतस्मिन् इत्यर्थ) स्वर्गं आराधयिष्यथ (मम च) आनृण्यं एष्यथ। इयं च लिपि· तिष्यनक्षत्रे श्रोतव्या, अन्तरा पि च तिष्यं क्षणे क्षणे एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या। एवं च कुर्व्वन्तः यूयं शक्ष्यथ सम्प्रतिपादयितुम्। एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपि· लिखिता, येन नगरव्यवहारका· शाश्वतं समयं युज्येरन् इति, नगरजनस्य अकस्मात् परिबाध· वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेश· वा न स्यात् इति। एतस्मै अर्थाय अहं महामात्रान् पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु निष्क्रामयिष्यामि, ये अकर्कशा अचण्डाः श्लक्ष्णारम्भाः (संक्षीणालम्भा· वा, अफलहता· वा ?.) भविष्यन्ति। एतं अर्थं ज्ञात्वा तथा कुर्व्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशिष्टिः। उज्जयिनीत अपि तु कुमार· एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति ईदृशं एव वर्गं न च अतिक्रामयिष्यति त्रीणि वर्षाणि। एवं एव तक्षशिलात· अपि। यदा ते महामात्राः निष्क्रमिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानं तदा अहापयित्वा (अपहाय ?) आत्मनः कर्म्म एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति तत् अपि तथा कुर्व्वन्ति यथा राज्ञ· अनुशिष्टिः इति।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The *Mahāmātras* concerned with the transaction (of judicial procedure) in the town of Tosalī are to be (thus) addressed, in the words of (the King,) the Beloved of the Gods:—'whatever I conceive, I wish that to bring into practice by action and to carry that into effect by (proper) means. In this matter I regard my instructions to you to be the chief means, because you are set or employed over thousands of living beings (with the idea) that you may surely secure the affection of all men (or good men). All men are my children. Just as I desire for my children that they may be associated with all kinds of welfare and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire (the same) for all men. You may not appreciate how far (or to what extent) this matter is to be understood or grasped. Some individual person may know or understand this (meaning), but he also may understand a part only and not the whole. You should then see to this, and this principle or policy is well tested or established. Again there may be some individual person who incurs imprisonment or torture and for this reason, in this (matter), the result may end in captivity without

a (due) cause and on this account many other people may become grieved deeply or intensely. In this case, you should desire that you should follow a middle (i e. impartial) course (of justice). But success may not be attained on account of a certain (group of) defects or mental inclinations viz envy, sudden loss (of mental balance), harshness, haste or impatience, want of application (or indiscretion), laziness and weariness. So you should desire that this class (of defects) may not be yours. The root of the entire thing lies in the absence of sudden loss (of mental balance, or of perseverance) and also absence of haste in the application of the principles (of justice) The man who becomes languishing or weary cannot exert or get up to move properly. But (you are to) move, advance and proceed on (for reaching the goal). This is how you are to see to this. For this reason you are to be told (thus): —you are to see mutually that such and such are the instructions of (the King), the Beloved of the Gods. So the fulfilment of these (instructions) bears great fruit (and) non-fulfilment leads to great calamity. Those who fail to fulfil (them) cannot win heaven or serve the King. For, I have attributed two results to excessive mental attention to sucn an affair. In fulfilling (my) instructions you will gain heaven and also discharge your debt (to me).

This Edict is to be heard (from its recital) on the Tishya-nakshatra days and in the intervals (between the Tishya-days) on occasions (or, now and then), it may be heard even by a single person And thus acting you will be able to fulfil (my instructions) For this purpose has this Edict been inscribed so that the administrators of the town may strive (to act) all the time (with the intent) that there occurs no restraint or torture to the townsmen without any cause. And for this purpose I shall send out (on tour) every five years such *Mahāmātras* (high state-functionaries) as are not harsh and not wrathful and are smooth or honest in action, (or whose tendency towards sacrificial slaughter has been destroyed) and knowing this purpose (of mine) they will so act as is my instruction. However, from Ujjayinī, the Prince, for the same purpose, will send out (on tour) a similar body (of high officials) and he will not let pass three years (in this matter). In the same manner, also from Takshaśilā, (the Prince should act). When *Mahāmātras* proceed on their touring inspection, they will then, without neglecting their own duties, will understand this (instruction of mine) and will thus act, as the King's instructions are (i.e. according to them).

WORD NOTES

(1) नगलवियोहालका—Seem to be City-administrators of justice. The root व्यवह् in Skt. means to carry on commerce, to trade, to deal in, and also to conduct any judicial procedure, to judge. The Damodarpur Inscriptions of the Gupta period use the word संव्यवहरति in the sense of carrying on administrative work. Can it be equated with the नागरक or नागरिक (City Mayor) of Kautilya (BK II)?

(2) पटिवेदये (for पटिपातयेJ=Skt प्रतिपादये J)—पटिवेदयति—to let know, to notify.

(3) सु—Skt. स्वित् indeclinable. This सु is better to be separated from the next word मुनिसानं. The officers must have been directed to win the affection of all people and not particularly of सुमनुष्याः (i.e. of good persons alone).

(4) युजेवु (cf. युजेयु of J)—Skt. युज्येरन्.

(5) आवा(व)गमके—Skt. यावद्गमकः i e. how far the matter is to be comprehended, how far its significance goes.

(6) देसं—Used in the sense of एकदेश, a part or portion.

(7) अकस्मा—Skt. अकस्मात्, without any cause. 'Suddenly' will not here carry the meaning fully.

(8) मझं—Skt. मध्यं.

(9) बंधनंतिकं—Leading to captivity.

(10) आसुलोपेन—Skt. आशुलोपः. Sudden perplexity of mind, sudden confusion of mind i e. loss of mental balance or equilibrium. Some may be inclined to take the word as आशुरोपः, sudden raising.

(11) तुलनाये (D), तुलाये (J)—त्वरणया and त्वरया, by haste.

(12) अनावुतिय—Skt. अनावृत्या or अनायुक्त्या, the latter being better, अनायुक्ति means 'want of application or discretion'.

(13) किलमथेन—Skt. क्लमथः. Pali किलमथ, fatigue, weariness, langour.

(14) नितिये—Skt. नीत्यां (in the principle or policy). According to some नित्यं (always).

(15) अंनंने—It cannot be here rendered into 'अन्यत् न' or 'आज्ञां न'. It is Pali अञ्ञमञ्ञ or अञ्ञोञ्ञं (=Skt. अन्योन्यं), mutually, one another.

(16) आलधि—From आ+राधि. Skt. आराद्धिः (i.e. आराधनं), winning, pleasing or serving.

(17) दुयाहले—Skt. द्विफल (not द्वयाहार· as taken by some), having two results or fruits.

(18) मनेअतिलेके—Skt. मनोऽतिरेक·, excess of thought (in mind) to a matter, excessive mental attention, mental exhuberance.

(19) अननियं—From अ+ऋण Skt. आनृण्यं, paying debt to.

(20) कलतं—Skt. कुर्वन्त·, participle adj.

(21) चघथ—From चक् (cf. चक्रिये) i.e. शक्=शक्ष्यथ, future, 2nd p., plural. Vide *ante* note on चघंति (P.E. IV).

(22) पलिबोधे—Skt. परिबाध:, restraint. Sometimes आकार becomes ओकार in Pali and Prakrit words. The root here is (b) Pali बाधेति, to oppress, afflict or harass.

(23) सखिनालंभे—Skt. either श्लक्ष्णारम्भा:, 'whose actions or works are smooth i.e. honest'. If however, it is rendered by संक्षीणालम्भा:, its meaning will be 'whose (tendency towards) sacrificial slaughter has disappeared'.

(24) जानितु—Gerundial form of Skt. ज्ञात्वा (affix तून for क्त्वाच्). Cf. सुतु and such other forms in Aśokan records.

(25) अनुस(सं)यानं—On the occasion of tour (of inspection). संयान in Skt. often means 'travelling', 'journey', or 'departure', 'setting out'.

(26) अहापयितु—A gerund of हा+णिच् with न i.e. Skt. अहापयित्वा, not अहित्वा as some take it. Pali हापेति, to omit, to neglect.

SECOND SEPARATE KALINGA

ROCK EDICT (TEXT)

D— (1) देवा(नं) पियस वचनेन तोसलियं (कु)माले महामाता च

G— (1) देवानं पिये हेवं आह (:—) समापायं महामाता

D— वतविय (—) अं किछि दखामि (ह)कं ————

G— लजवचनिक वतविया (—) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं (,) किंति ?

D— — — — — दु(वाल)ते च (आ)लमेहं (1) एस च
G— कं कमन (2) पटिपातयेहं दुवा(ल)ते च आलमेहं (1) एव च

D— मे मोख्यम(त) (दुवा)लो एतसि (अ)ठसि अं तुफे(सु) — — (1)
G— मे मोखियमत दुवा(ल) एत(स) अथस अं तुफेसु अनुम(थि) (1)

D— — — (मम) (1) (3) अथ पजाये इछामि हकं (,) किंति (2)
G— सवमुनिसा (3) मे पजा (1) अथ पजाये इछामि (,) कि ति (2)

D— (स)वेन हि(तसुखेन) —— —— —— ——
G— मे सवेणा हितसु(4)(खे)न यु जे)यू (1) अथ पजाये इछामि (;) किंति (2)

D — हिदलो(किक) — (पाल)लोकिकाय युयेवूति (1)हे(वं)——
G युयेवूति हिदलोगिक — पाललोकिकेन (1) हेवमेव मे इछा

D— — (मु)नि(सेसु (4) (1) सिया अंतानं अविजिता(नं) (—)किछं(दे) सु (लाज)
G— सव मुनिसेसु (1) सिया अंतानं अविजिता(5) (—)किंछंदे सु लाजा

D— (अ)फे(सु) — म वे इ(छ) (मं,म अंतेसु — (पा)(पु)नेवु
G— अफेसूति (,) एता का (वा) मे इछ अंतेसु पापनेयु (,) लाजा

D— ते इति (,) देवानं पिये अ(नु)विगिन म(मा)(ये) (5) हुवेवूति
G— हेवं इछति अनुविगि(न) हेयु (6) ममियाये

D— अस्वसेवु च सुखंमेव लहेवु मम (ते) नो दुख(ं) (1)
G— अस्वसेयु मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू मम ते नो (दु)खं (1)

D— हेवं — (ने)वू (इ)ति (,) खमिसति ने देवानं पि(ये) (अफा)कंति
G— हेवं च पापुनेयु (,) खमिसति ने लाजा (7)

D— ए चकिये खमितवे (,) मम (नि)मि(तं) च धंमं चले(वू)
G— ए चकिये खमितवे (;) ममं निमितं च धंमं चलेयू ति

D— (6) हिदलोक पललोक(ं) च (आ)लाधयेवू (।) (ए)तसि अठसि
G— हिदलोगं च पललो(ग)ं च आलाधयेयु (।) एताये च अठाये

D— हु(कं) अनुसासामि तुफे (।) अनने एत(के)न हकं (,) अनुसासितु छंदं
G— (ह)कं तुफेसु अनुसासामि (।) अनने एतकेन हकं (,) तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं

D— च वेदितु आ (हि) (धि)ति पटिंना च ममा(7) (अज)(ला) (।) से हेवं कटु
G— च वेदि(9)तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (।) से हेवं (कटु)

D— कंमे चलितविये अस्वा — (नि)— (च तानि) (,) एन पापुनेवू इति (—)अथ
G— कंमे चलितविये अस्वासनिया च ते (,) एन ते पापुने(10)यु(—)अथा

D— पिता तथ देवानं पिये अफाक (,) अथा च अतानं हेवं देवानं
G— पित हेवं ने लाजा ति (,) अथ अतानं अनुकंमति हेवं

D— (अ)नुकंमति अफे (,) (8) अथा च पज हेवं मये देवानं पियस (।)
G— अतानं अनुकंमति हेवं अफेनि अनु(क)ंपति (,) अथा पजा हे(11)वं मये लाजिने (।)

D—से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च (वे)—(तु)फाक दे(सा)वुतिके होसामि
G—तुफेनि हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु मम धिति पटिंना चा अचल—(12) देसा-आयुतिके (हो)सामि

D— एताये (अ)थाये (।) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये (हि)तसु(खा)ये च
G— एतसि अथसि (।) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये (च)

D— (तेस) (9) हिदलोकिकपाल(लोतिका(ये) (।) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं
G— (ते)सं हिद (13)लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (।) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं

D— (आ)ला(ध)यिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (।) (एता)ये च अठाये
G— (च) आलाधयिसथ मम च आननेयं एसथ (।) ए(14)ताये च अथाये

D— इयं लिपि (लि)खिता हिद एन (म)हामाता स्व(सतं) (स)म (10) युजिसंति
G— इ(यं) लिपी लिखिता (हि)द ए(न) महामाता सस्वतं समं युजेयू

D— (अस्वास)नाये धंमचल(ना)ये (च) (तेस) अंतानं (।) इयं च लि(पि)
G— अस्वासनाये च (15) धंमचलनाये (च) (अं)तानं (।) इयं च लिपी

D— (अनुचातुं)मासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया कामं च खनसि खनसि
G— अ(नु)चातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन अंतला पि च सोतविया (16) खने

D— अंतला पि तिसेन ए(के)न (पि) (11) (सो)तविय (।) हे(वं) कलं(तं)
G— संतं (ए)केन पि सोतविया (।) हेवं च कलंतं

D— (तु)फे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे (।)
G— —— चघथ संपटिपातयितवे (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(Jaugada Text)

देवप्रियः राजा एवं आहः—समापायां महामात्राः राजवाचनिकं वक्तव्याः—"यत् किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं, तत् इच्छामि अहं, किं इति? कर्मणा कं (?) प्रतिपादये अहम्, द्वारतः च आरभे अहम्। एतच्च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारं एतस्य अर्थस्य, यत् युष्मासु अनुशिष्टिः। सर्वमनुष्याः मे प्रजाः। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि—किं इति?—मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन; एवं एव मे इच्छा सर्वमनुष्येषु। स्यात् अन्त्यानां अविजितानां (मनसि इत्यर्थः)—"किंछन्दः स्वित्, राजा अस्मासु" इति। एतका एव मे इच्छा अन्त्येषु—प्राप्नुयुः (ते)—"राजा एवं इच्छति—अनुद्विग्नाः स्युः मह्यम्, आश्वसेयुः च मे, सुखं एव च लभेरन् मम (मत्तः इत्यर्थः) ते, न दुःखम्"। एवं च प्राप्नुयुः—"क्षमिष्यते नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम्"। मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः इति। इहलोकं च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः। एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान् अनुशास्मि। अनृणः अहं एतकेन। युष्मान् अनुशिष्य छन्दं च वेदयित्वा या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च, अचला सा। एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम्। आश्वासनीयाः च ते—येन प्राप्नुयुः—"यथा पिता एवं नः राजा इति, यथा आत्मानं अनुकम्पते एवं अस्मान् अनुकम्पते, यथा प्रजाः एवं वयं राज्ञः"। युष्मान् अनुशिष्य छन्दं च वेदयित्वा या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला। देश्यायुक्तिकः भविष्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे। अलं हि यूयम् आश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषां ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकाय। एवं च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गं च आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यं एष्यथ। एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन महामात्राः शाश्वतीः समाः युज्येरन् आश्वासनाय च धर्माचरणाय च अन्तानाम् (अन्त्यानां वा)। इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण। अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या। क्षणे सति (कामं च क्षणे क्षणे D) एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या। एवं च कुर्वन्तः शक्ष्यथ सम्प्रतिपादयितुम्।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says (the King), the Beloved of the Gods·—At Samāpā, the High (State) officers are to be addressed in the form of royal verbal message, viz—"when I conceive something, I wish—what is that? That I may put that into practice and begin to undertake the same by certain means. I regard the chief means for attaining this purpose to be my instructions or directions to you. All men are my children. Just as I desire—what is that?—that they may be united with all kinds of welfare and happiness pertaining to this world and the next. Thus my desire is such also for all men. This may occur to all unconquered borderers—'May we ask—of what intention (or desire) is the king regarding ourselvers'? Such then is my desire towards them—they should understand that 'the king desires so that they may not cherish any anxiety (or fear) on my account and they should have confidence in me, and they should gain only happiness from me and no misery'. And they should also understand that 'the King will forgive us, as far as it is possible to forgive'. They should, for my sake, follow the Law of piety and should gain (the blessings of) both this life and the life hereafter'. And for this purpose I give you instructions. In this manner I become free from debt (to my people). Whatever there is my resolve and promise by my instructing you and making known by intention (or will), that is inflexible. By doing thus you should perform your work. They (all men) should also be consoled (or inspired with confidence in me), so by that they should think—'The King is to us even as a father; he sympathises with us as he sympathises with himself; we are to the King even as his children'. Because I entertain my resolve and promise as inflexible by instructing you and informing you of my will, I shall, in this matter, have native officials (or officials fit to be instructed or provided with instructions). For you are (quite) capable of consoling them and ensuring their welfare and happiness pertaining to both this world and the next. And thus acting you will gain heaven and also will discharge your debt to me. And this Edict has been written here for this purpose, so that the High (State) officers may remain engaged, for all years to come, in inspiring the confidence (in me) of the borderers and making them move in the Law of piety. And this Edict should be recited for hearing on the Tishya day during all the (three) seasons of four months. (This) may also be recited in the intervals. On a particular occasion (or during festivity) it may be recited (for hearing) by even one person. By acting thus you will be able to fulfil (my directions)."

WORD-NOTES

(1) समापायं—Samāpā was the head-quarters of High State officers in southen Kalinga. This inscription at Jaugada is on a Rock in the Ganjam District of modern Orissa State. The Dhauli version indicates that the Edict was addressed to the Prince (presumably a son of Aśoka) and the Mahāmātras of Tosali, the capital of Aśoka's newly-annexed province.

(2) लजवचनिक—Skt. राजवाचनिकं, a message expressed by the royal words. This inscription is interesting in many portions as they record avowedly the very words of King Aśoka.

(3) सवमुनिसा मे पजा—This is really an echo of Buddha's words "all beings are my children" referred to in the सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक and the धर्मसंग्रह II, quoted by Kern in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (p. 61). The evidently Indian ideal on the relationship between the ruler and the ruled as being similar to that existing between a father and his children is copiously propagated through Indian literature. For example, Kautilya has the following passages—"सर्वत्र चोपहतान् पितेवानुगृह्णीयात्" (IV, 3) and "दत्त्वाचाभयं पितेवानुगृह्णीयात्" (VII, 16). Cf. also the statement in Manu VII, 80—"वर्तेत पितृवन् नृषु", and that in याज्ञवल्क्य I. 334 "स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता". Kālidāsa in his *Sakuntalā* (V) gives a similar idea in "प्रजा प्रजाः स्वा इव तन्त्रयित्वा".

(4) किंच्छन्दो—A Bahuvrīhi compound, meaning "possessing what kind of will (desire or intention) or attitude towards us".

(5) सु—Skt. स्वित्, an indeclinable in the sense 'may it be asked ?'

(6) पापुनेयु—Skt. प्राप्नुयुः, 'may (they) understand or consider'.

(7) चकिये—Skt शक्यं. The root in Aśokan dialect seems to be चक् (in place of Skt. शक्). Cf. चघथ (=शक्नुथ below).

(8) खमितवे—The affix तवे for तुम् (infinitive)=Skt. क्षन्तुम्.

) तुफेनि—Skt. युष्मान्. Cf. the Apabhraṁśa form तुम्हइं. Cf. also the form अफेनि in this Edict which is equivalent to Skt. अस्मान् (अपभ्रंश form अम्हइं).

0) अनने—Skt. अनृणं, free from debt. Cf. आननेयं (आननियं D.) =Skt. आनृण्यं, discharge form debt.

1) अनुसासितु—Skt. अनुशिष्य. A gerund. So also वेदितु, a gerundial form.

2) धिति—Skt. धृतिः. The word may mean either धारणा (conviction or decision) or तुष्टि (pleasure) Cf. "धृतिर्धारणधैर्ययोः" इत्यमर. and "धृतिर्योगान्तरे धैर्ये धारणाध्वरतुष्टिषु" इति विश्वः ।

13) पटिंना—Skt. प्रतिज्ञा Cf. पटिंञा D, promise, vow or consent. Pali पटिञ्ञा.

14) कटु—Skt. कृत्वा. Gerundial form from कृ.

15) मये—Skt. वयं. Pali मयं (we)

16) देसा-आयुतिके—Cf. देसावुतिके D, where व् stands for य् as elsewhere in Aśokan dialects. Skt =देश्य+आयुक्तक. (or आयुक्तिकः). The word देश्य from दिश् (णिच्—देशयति) to cause to be instructed. The whole word is an adjective to हकं (=अहं) understood, nominative to होसामि (=भविष्यामि). So the meaning is 'one whose आयुक्तक's or आयुक्तिक's (or officers or agents) are caused to be instructed by me'. Or we can take देश्य in the sense of देशीय (i.e. the compound may mean—'one who is to be provided with native or local officials'. Lit. देश्य may mean 'born in the देश or country, hence indigenous, native.' For the use of the word आयुक्त cf. Kautilya V. 4—"आयुक्त-प्रदिष्टायां भूमावनुज्ञात. प्रविशेत्". Also *ibid* II, 13.

17) कलंतं—Participle form (=कुर्वन्तः).

18) खसतं समं—Skt. शाश्वतीः समाः, throughout all years to come, i e. for ever. It should not be translated as शाश्वतं समयम् as done by some scholars. समा (a year) is generally used in Skt. in pl. Cf. use of the phrase in the उत्तररामचरित in "मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वती. समाः".

19) अनुचातुंमासं—Skt. अनुचातुर्मासं or अनुचातुर्म्मास्यं, during each of the three seasons of four months.

(20) खने संतं—Skt. क्षणे सति. Cf. खणसि खणसि D. क्षण may mean 'particular occasion or time' or any festivity. Cf. Amara "निर्व्यापारस्थितौ कालविशेषोत्सवयोः क्षणः".

(21) चघथ—This word, so long puzzling to scholars, may now be definitely derived from the root शक् (Aśokan चक् or छक्, vide note 7 above) It is a form in the second person pl. in लृट्, future tense, so it represents शक्ष्यथ, 'will be able to'. Cf. note (9) on चघंति in P.E. IV.

BAIRAT (BHABRU) STONE INSCRIPTION

TEXT

(1) पियदसि लाजा मागधे (धं according to some) सघं अभिवादे(तू)नं आहा अपाबाधतं च फासुविहालतं चा (।)

(2) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसीति गालवे चं पसादे च (।) ए केचि भंते

(3) भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा (।) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे

(4) चिलठितीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वतवे। इमानि भंते धंमपलियायानि (:—) विनयसमुकसे (,)

(5) अलियवसाणि(नि)(,) अनागतभयानि(,) मुनिगाथा(,) मोनेयसूते(,) उपतिसपसिने(,) ए चा लाघुलो-

(6) वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते (।) एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि इछामि(—)

(7) किंति (?) बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सुन(ने)यु चा उपधालयेयु चा (।)

(8) हेमंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (।) एतेनि(न) भंते इमं लिखापयामि अभिपेतं मे जानंतूति (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः (वा मागधं) संघं अभिवाद्य आह अल्पाबाधतां (वा अपबाधता) सुखविहारता च। विदितं वः भदन्ता यावत् मम (अस्माकं वा) बुद्धे धर्मे संघे इति गौरवं च प्रसाद च। यत् किञ्चित् भदन्ताः भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत् सुभाषितं एव। यत् च खलु भदन्ताः मया (अस्माभिः वा) देश्यं (दिश्येत वा)—एवं सद्धर्मः चिरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति—अर्हामि अहं तत् वक्तुम्। इमे भदन्ताः धर्मपर्यायाः—विनयसमुत्कर्षः, आर्यवासाः, अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेयसूत्रं, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यत् च राहुलाववादे मृषावादं अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितम्। एतान् भदन्ताः धर्मपर्यायान्

इच्छामि—किं इति ? बहुका· भिक्षुपादा· च भिक्षुक्य (भिक्षुण्य) च अभीक्ष्णं शृणुयु च उपधारयेयुः च। एवमेव उपासका· च उपासिका च। एतेन भदन्ताः इदं लेखयामि—अभिप्रेतं (अभिहितं इति केचित्) मे जानन्तु इति।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King Priyadarśī of Magadha having saluted the Congregation addresses them (bidding) freedom from trouble or affliction (or good health) and happy living. Reverend sirs, it is known to you how far go my esteem (or regard) and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma (the Law of piety) and the Sangha (the Congregation), and Reverend sirs, whatever has been said by Lord Buddha has been well said. However, Revered sirs, what may be pointed out or shown by me, *viz.*, "Thus the good Law (i.e. Buddhism) will endure long"—I deserve to say that. Reverend sirs, the following are the passages (or texts) on the Law of piety, namely, (1) 'The excellence of *Vinaya* or discipline', (2) 'The noble state of living', (3) 'Fears of the future-happenings', (4) 'The gāthā (song) of the Muni (Hermit).' (5) 'the Dialogue on the Hermit's way of life', (6) 'the questionings of Upatishya', and also what is said by Lord Buddha in 'the Exhortation to Rāhula referring to (or concerning) the subject of falsehood'. These *dharma*-passages or texts, Reverend sirs, I desire—what to do with?—that the numerous revered monks and nuns may frequently (or, repeatedly) listen to and meditate on them. And likewise, the male and the female laity (may also do the same). For this reason, Reverend sirs, I cause this (Edict) to be written, so that they (the people) may know my intention,

WORD NOTES

(1) मागधे— =Skt. मागधः, belonging to Magadha. Some read the word as मागधं and in such a case it becomes an adjective to संघं (i.e., the congregation of the Magadha country).

(2) अभिवादेतूनं—In old Skt. तून is one of the affixes for gerund (क्त्वाच्) Skt. अभिवाद्य.

(3) अपाबाधतं—Skt. अल्पाबाधतां or अपाबाधता. आबाध means pain (affliction) or distress (trouble e.g. sickness).

(4) फासुविहालतं—फासु=Skt. सुख, from स्पर्श. फासुविहार in Pali refers to 'good health', 'remaining well'.

(5) इमा—Skt. मम. Cf. इमियाये=मया below.

(6) पमादे—Skt. प्रसाद: which in Buddhist literature means 'faith'.

(7) ए केचि· सुभासिते वा—This sentence is virtually a quotation from अङ्गुत्तरनिकाय, IV. p. 163 (P.T.S.).

(8) सधंमे चिलठितीके होसतीति—This sentence also is a quotation occurring in the महाव्युत्पत्ति and the अङ्गुत्तरनिकाय. सद्धर्म्म (the Good Law) is a name for Buddhism itself.

(9) धंमपलियायानि—Skt. धर्म्मपर्य्यायाः, series or enumerations of *dharma*-passages or texts. Pali परियाय, may also mean 'points of view on'. The seven passages herein referred to have since been fully identified, latest by Mm Dr. Vidhusekhar Sastri in an edition published by the University of Calcutta (1948) under the name "Buddhist Texts as recommended by Aśoka". The monarch recommended them to the monks and nuns and also to the lay disciples both male and female—probably because he thought of their religious significance and importance for the history of the Buddhist canons. The Sanskrit form 'धर्मपर्यायो' occurs in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. II. p. 287) in the passage.—"एवं पि तेषां कुलपुत्राणा कर्मविपाका प्रतिभायन्ति, येयामयं धर्मपर्यायो हस्तगतो भविष्यति".

(10) विनयसमुकसे—Pali विनयसमुक्कंस. It refers to the First Sermon of the Buddha at the Deer Park (in Sarnath) called the धम्मचक्कपवत्तन-सुत्त of the विनयपिटक, महावग्ग I. 6. 17-26, wherein we have the मज्झिमपटिपदा (the Middle Path) expounded with special mention of the अरियो अट्ठङ्गिको मग्गो and the four अरियसच्च's.

(11) अलियवसानि—Pali अरियवास The course of conduct of the Āryyas or the Noble Way of Life is described in the सङ्गीतिसुत्तन्त and the दसुत्तरसुत्तन्त in the दीघनिकाय (Vol III, pp. 269 and 291 respectively). Therein we find stated the ten states of अरियवासा thus "दस अरियवासा—इधावुसो भिक्खु पञ्चङ्गविप्पहीनो होति छलङ्गसमन्नागतो एकारक्खो चतुरापस्सेनो पनुन्नपच्चेकसच्चो समवसट्ठेसनो अनाविल-सङ्कप्पो पस्सद्धकायसङ्खारो सुविमुत्तचित्तो सुविमुत्तपञ्ञो"।

(12) अनागतभयानि—The fears that may arise in future are described in the अङ्गुत्तरनिकाय LXXVII—LXXX (Vol. III. pp 100ff). The discourse thus begins —"पञ्चिमानि भिक्खवे अनागतभयानि एतरहि असमुप्पन्नानि आयतिं समुप्पज्जिस्सन्ति। तानि वो पटिबुज्झितब्बानि पटिबुज्झित्वा च तेसं पहानाय वायमितब्बं।"

(13) मुनिगाथा—The गाथा's or Stanzas which form the मुनिसुत्त in the सुत्तनिपात, vv. 206—220. The first verse runs thus —"सन्थवातो भयं जातं निकेता जायते रजो। अनिकेतमसन्थवं एतं वे मुनिदस्सनं" ॥

(14) मोनेयसूते—This clearly refers to the Pali मोनेय्यसुत्त in the अङ्गुत्तरनिकाय Vol III, 120 (Vol. I. p.273). The सुत्त begins thus.—"तीणिमानि भिक्खवे मोनेय्यानि। कतमानि तीणि। कायमोनेय्य वचीमोनेय्यं मनोमोनेय्यं"।

(15) उपतिस-पसिने—Pali उपतिस्स-पञ्ह. This refers evidently to the सारिपुत्तसुत्त in the सुत्तनिपात (IV) vv. 955-975. The first verse runs thus:—"न मे दिट्ठो इतो पुब्बे न स्सुतो उद कस्सचि। एवं वग्गुवदो सत्था तुसिता गणिमागतो" ॥

(16) लाघुलोवादे (मुसावादं)—Pali राहुलोवाद. Skt. राहुलाववाद· Exhortation to Rāhula (Buddha's son). राहुलवाद will be a wrong translation (as made by some scholars) because the compound consists of the two words राहुल+ओवाद (अववाद). The reference is to the राहुलोवाद-सुत्त in the मज्झिमनिकाय No. 60, Vol. I, pp. 414-420. We may note one such passage from it, as the Lord Buddha uttered to Rāhula at Rājagriha in His 'exhortation to Rāhula':—"एवं परित्तं खो राहुल तेसं सामञ्ञं येसं नत्थि सम्पजान मुसावादे लज्जाति"।

(17) अधिगिच्य—Skt. अधिकृत्य and not अधिगीय.

(18) भिखुपाये—According to late Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, this word is to be translated into भिक्षुपादः i.e. a revered monk. Mm. Dr. V. Sastri, however, translates it into भिक्षुप्रायः which seems doubtful.

(19) अभिखिनं—Skt. अभीक्ष्णं, frequently, or repeatedly. Pali form अभिक्खनं also means constantly. "अभीक्ष्णं शश्वदनारते" इत्यमरः (पुनः पुनरित्यर्थे).

(20) अभिपेतं—Skt. अभिप्रेतं (intention अभिप्रायमित्यर्थः). Some scholars read अभिहेतं here. If the word is correctly read as such, will its rendering be अभिहितं (spoken pp. or saying)?

MINOR ROCK EDICTS I AND II

Southern versions:—(1) Brahmagiri (Br), (2) Siddapur (S), (3) Jatingarameswar (J), (4) Maski (M), (5) Erragudi (E), (6) Govimath (Gm), (7) Palkigundi (Pg), (8) Rajulamandagiri (Rm).

Northern versions:—(9) Sahasram (Sa), (10) Rupnath (R), (11) Bairat (B), (12) Gujarra (Gj).

I (TEXT)

Br—	(1)	(सु)वंणगिरीते	अयपुतस	महामाताणं	च	वच(ने)न	इसिलसि	महामाता
S—	(1)	सुवंणगिरीते	अयपुतस	महामाता(2)णं	(च)	(व)चवेन	इ(सि)लसि	महामाता

Br—आरोगियं	वतविया	हेवं	च	वतविया	(·—)
S—आरोगियं	वतविया	—	—	—	(—)

Br—		देवाणं	पिये		आणपयति	(1)(2)अधिकानि		अढातियानि	(व)सानि
S—		देवाणं	पिये	हेवं (4)	आह	(1)	अधिकानि	अ(ढातियानि)	वसानि
M—	(1)	(देवा)नं	पियस		असोकस	(1)	—	(अढति)(2)यानि	वसानि
E—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	हेवं	आह (R to L)	(1)	(सा)धिकानि	—	—
Gm—	(1)	देवान	पिये	हेवं	आह	(1)	सातिरेकाणि	अढतियाणि	वसाणि
Rm—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	हेवा	ह	(1)	अधि(का)नि (च)	अ—	—
Sa—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	हे(वं)	—	(1)	—	—	(वसा)नि
R—	(1)	देवानं	पिये	हेवं	आहा	(1)	साति(ले)कानि	अढतियानि	व—
B—	(1)	देवानं	पिये		आहा	(1)	साति—	—(2)	वसानि
Gj—	(1)	दे(वानं)	पियस		असोकराजस	(1)		अ(ढ)तियानि	संवछरानि

Br— य हकं — — (।) नो तु खो बाढ' पकंते हुसं

S— (5) य ह(कं) (उ)पासके— (।) नो तु खो बाढ (पकं)ते हुसं

M— (य)' अंसुमि बुंपाशके— (।) — — — — — —

E— (2) (R-L) यं हकं उपासके (।) नो तु खो एकं संवछर (पक)ते —

Gm— य सुमि उपा(2)सके (।) णो चु खो वाढं पकंते हुस

Rm— — — — के (।) नो तु (खो) ए(क) सं(वछर)(प)कंते हुसं

Sa— अ' उपासके सुमि (।) न चु बाढं प(ल)कंते

R— य सुमि पा(हा ?)क (सव)के(।) नो चु बाढि पकते

B— य हक उपासके (।) — — — — —

Gj— — — उपास(के)(स्मि)(।) — — — — —

Br— एकं सवछरं (।) सातिरेके तु खो स(ं)वछ(रं) (3) यं मया

S— ए(कं) संव— (।) (6) सातिलेके तु खो संवछरे यं —

M— — — (।) (साति)रे(के) चु (2) सुमि

E— — — साति(रे)कं (तु) खो सवछरे यं मया

Gm— संवछरे सातिरेके — — यं मे

Rm— — — (सा)तिरे(के) — — — — —

Sa— — सवछले (।) साधिके — — — — —

R— — — (।) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं

B— — — (।) सातिलेके — — — अं ममया

Gj— साधिके (सं)वछ(रे) य च मे

Br— संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकते (।) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना

S— —घे उप(यी)ते बाढं(7) च मे पकते (।) इमिना चु कालेन (अ)मिसा समा—

M— (सं)धं (उप)गते (बा) मि उपगते (।) — — —

E— संघे उपयि(4) (R-L) बाढ च मे पकते (।) इमिना च काले(न) अ(5)मिसा

Gm— संघे उपेति बाढं(3) च मे पकंते (।) इमायं वेलायं — —

Rm— — (पया)ते बा(3)ढं च मे पकंते (।) (इ)मिना चु का(ले)न अ—

Sa— — — — — — (एतेन)— कालेन — —

R— सघ उपेते (2) बाढि चु—पकते यि(पि?)(।) इमाय कालाय — —

B— स(ं) घे उपयाते वाढ च — — — — — — —

GJ— संघे (या)ते ती (अहं) बा(2)ढं च परकतेती (आ)हा (।) एतेना अंतरेना —

Br— मुनिमा जवुदीप(मि) (4) मिमा देवेहि (।) पक्मम हि इय फले (।)

S— मु— (8) जव(दी)— मिसा देवेहि (।) (पक)मम हि इय फले (।)

M— पुरे (4) जवु—मि — देवा हुसु ते दानि मिस्भिूता (।)— — — —

E— मुनिमा देवेहि ते दानि मिस्भिूता (।) पकमम हि (एस फले) (।)

Gm— जंबुदीपसि अमिसा देवा समाना (4) मागुसेहि से दाणि मिमा कटा (।)

पकमस एस फले (।)

Pg— (3) मागुसे — — — — —

Rm— — — (भूता (प)क(म) फले (।)

Sa— (ज)बुदीपसि अंमिसं देवा स(तो) (3) मुनिमा मिमदे — — — —

R— जवुदीपसि हुसु ते दानि अमिसा देवा मि(स) कटा पकमनि(स) हि एस फले (।)

B— जंबुदीपसि अमिसा (नू) देवे(हि) — — — एस (फ)ले (।)

Gj— जबुदीपसि देवान पीय(स) अमिमदेवा संतो मुनिम मिमदेवा कटा (।) परकमस इय फले (।)

Br— नो हीयं सक्ये महात्पेनेव पापोतवे (,) काम तु खो खुदकेन पि

S— नो हि(9)यं सके —नेव पापो(त)वे (3) काम तु खो खुदकेन(10)पि

M— — — — — — इय अठे खुद(5)केन हि

E— (6) नो (R to L) मइत्पनेव सकिये (,) खु(7)दकेन पि

Gm— णो हि इयं महतेणेव च(5)किये पापोतवे (,) खुदकेन पि

Pg— (4) णो हि इय ———— व — — —

Rm— नो ही य महत्पे(ने)व सकिये (,) (खु)दा(के)—

Sa— — — महतता पापोतवे (,)— खुदकेन पि

R— नो च एसा महतता पापोतवे (,)— खुदकेनहि का(3)पि

B— (नो) हि एसे महतनेव चकिये — — — —

Gj— नो (च इ)य महतेनातिव(3) चकिये पापोतवे(,) खुदाकेण पी

Br— (5) पक(ममि)णेण विपुले स्वगे सक्ये आराधेतवे (।) एतायठाय इयं सावणे

S— प— न वि—ल स्वगे सक आराधेतवे (।) (11) से—य इ(यं) सावणे

M— धमयु(तेन) सके अधिगतवे (।) न हेवं — —

E— प(क) 8)(म)मीनेन सकिये विपुले स्वगे — आराधेतवे (।) एताय अठाय इय (9)(मा)वने

Gm— पकममीणेन विपुले पि चकिये स्व(गे) आराधयितवे (।) ए(6)ताये च अठाये इयं सावणे

Pg— (5) — (मी)णेण विपु(ले)पि चकि(ये)स्वग आर — — — —

Rm— — — विपू — — (त)वे (।) एता(ये) च अठाय (सावने)

Sa— प(ल) (4) कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअ(ग)—किये आ(ला)—वे (।) से एताये अठाये च सावने

R— परु(क)ममिनेन सकिये पि(वि)पुले पि स्वगे आरोढवे (।) एतिय अठाय च सावने

B— —(क)ममिनेना (6) विपुले पि स्वगे च(क) आलाधेतवे (।) — — —

Gj— परकममीनेना धंमं चरमीनेना पानेसू संयतेना विपुले पी स्वगे चकिये आराधयितवे (।) (से) एताये

(4) अठा(ये) इयं सावणे (।)

Br— सावापिते (।) (6)— महात्पा च इम पकमेयु (ति) (।)
S— साविते (।) यथा खु(12)दको महात्पा च इमं (प)क्रमेयुति (।)
M— दखितविये उढा(6)लके व इम अधिगछेया पि (।) खु(दके) (च) उ(डा)लके च वत(7)विया (।)
E— साविते (।) अथा खुदका महाधना इमं पराक्रमेवू (।)
Gm— खुडका च उडारा च पकमंतु ति (।)
Pg— —— —— (6) च पकमंतुति (।)
Rm— सा(विते) (।) — — — — — —
Sa— — खुदाका च उडाला चा प(5)लकमंतु (।)
R— कटे (।) खुदका च उडाला च पकमंतुति (।)
B— — —(का) च उडाला च पलक(मं)तु(ति) (।)
Gj— खुदाके च उडारे चा धमं चरंतू (यो)गं युंजंतू(।)

Br— अंता च मै(मे) जानेयु (,) चिरठितीके च इयं (7) प — — (।)
S— अंता च(13) — — (,) —थितीके च इयं पकमे होतु (।)
M— — — — — हेवं (क)लतं भद(के) (ठेति) (।)
E— अं(10) (R to L)ता च मे जानेवु (,) चिरठितिका च(11) इयं पकमे होतु (।)
Gm— अंता पि च जाणंतु (,) चिरठितिके च पकमे होतु (।)
Pg— अंता पि च जाणंतु (,) (चि)—के — —
Rm— —(ता) च जाने(यु)(,) (चि)रठिति(क) (च) (इ)यं पकमे होत (।)
Sa— अंता पि च जानंतु (,) चिलठिति(के) च पलकमे होतु (।)
R— अ(अं)ता पि च जानंतु (,) इयं पकर(परक)(मे)व किति चिरठितिके सिया (।)
B— (7) (अं)ता पि च जानंतुति (,) चिलठि(तिके) — — — —
Gj— अंता पि चा जानंतू किंति च चिलथि(ति)के धंमच— — —

Br— इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुल पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया
S— — — —(14) वढिसिति (वि)पुलं (पि) च वढिसिति अ(15)—
J— — — — (12) विपुलं पि — — —
M— — — — — (त्) (क्) च वढि(8)सिति च
E— इयं अठे विपुल पि च बढ(ढि)सिता अपरधिया
Gm— इयं अठे वढिसिति विपुले च वढिसिति
Pg— — — — — (7) च वढिसिति —
Rm— (वि)— — — —
Sa— इयं च अ(ठे) वढिसति विपुलं पि च वढिसति (6) दियाढियं अवलधियेना
R— इयं हि अठे वढिवढिसिति विपुल(ं) च वढिसिति अपलधियेना
B— — — — — लं पि वढिस —(8) — — —
Gj— (5) (सि)ति (छ) एनं वा धंमं च(रं) अति(यो)

Br— दियढियं (8) वटिमि(ति) (।)
S— —य वटिमिति (।)
M— दियढिय (हे)मति (।)
E— दियढियं
Gm— दिय(8)ढियं पि च वढिसितीति (।)
Pg— दिय(ढि)य पि च — (।)
Rm— — — — (।)
Sa— दियढियं वढिमति (।) इम च अठं पवतेसु (लेखा)पयाथा
R— दियढिय वटिसत(ंति) (।) इय अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत इध च (।)
B— (दि)यढिय वढिसति (।)

Sa— य—वा अ(8)थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखा(पयथ) पि (*l*) (।)
R— अथि (5) सा(सि)लाठमे सिलाटंभसि ला(ले)खापेतवयत (।)

— एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेवियति (।)

Br— इयं च साव(णे) सा(वापि)ते व्युथेन २००+५०+६(=२५६) (।)
S— इयं च सा(व)णे — — — — (।)
J— (इ)यं — सावणे — वुथेन २००+५०+६(=२५६) (।)
Gm— — — (11) स(*l*) (व्यु)थेन २००+५०+६(=२५६) (।)
E—(12) (R to L)(इ)यं च सावने सा(वापि)ते व्युथेन २००+५०+६(=२५६) (।)
Rm— — — (च) (सा)वने सा(वापि)ते (व्यू)थेन (२००)+५०+(६) (=२५६) (।)
Sa— इयं— — — विवुथेन दुवे सपंना लाति(7)सता विवुथ
२००+५०+६(=२५६)
R— — — — —व्युठेन सावने कटे सुटफु २५६ स(6)त विवासात(ति) (।)
Gj— इयं च सावन विवुथे(न) (२००)+५०+६(=२५६) (।)

II (TEXT)

Br— से हेवं देवानं पिये (9) आह(:—)
Rm— हेवं (दे)वानं (पिये आ)ह(—) (यथा देवानं पि—(8)—ये
रजू(के) (आ)न(पे)त(विये) (,) से दा(नि) (जान) पदा(नि) (आ)नपयि(ति) रठिका (।) च
E— हेवं देवानं (देवानं) पिये आह(:—यथा देवान (R to L) पिये आह
तथा कतविय (।) (15) (राजू)के आनपितविये (,) (16) (R to L) ते दानी जानपद
आन(17)पयिसति रठिकानि च।

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Br— मातापितिसु सुसू(सि)तविये (,) हेमेव गरु(त्व) प्राणेसु (द्रह्यि)तव्यं (,)
S— — — तविये (,)(17)— — — (द्रह्यि)तव्यं (,)
J— मातापितिसु (सुसू)सितविये (हे) — (प्राणे)सु —(हि)तव्यं (,)
Rm— (मा)ता— — — (गुरुसु) — (नेसू) —(द)(ये) (,)
E— मातापितूसु सुसु(18)सितविये (,) — — पानेसु दयितविये (,)

Br— सचं (10) वतवियं (।) से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया (।) हेमेव
S— श(स)(चं) व(तवि)यं (।) इ(मे) धंमगु(18)णा — (।) (हे)मे(व)
J— सचं व(7)तवियं (।) ए—(8) हेव पवतितविया (।) (8)हे(वं)
Rm— स(च) (वतवि)य (।) ... . (10)— तविये (।) हे(वं)
(तु)फे आन(प)थाथ देवानं (पिय)— वचने(न) — — —(81) थ (ह) —
(क)रनकानि यु(ग्य)चरियानि (वंभना) कि(नि) (च) तु(फे)
E— सच वतविय (19) सुसु(खु ?)म धंमगुणा पवतितविया (।)हेवं
तुफे आनपयथ देवानं पियस वचनेन हे (20)(R to L)मेव आनप(21)यथ
हतियारोहानि कारनकानि यू(ग्य)चरियानि (,) वंभनानि च तुफे हेवं निवेसया(22)थ

Br— अंते वासि(ना) (11) आचरिये अपचा(यि)तविये (,)
S— — — (आच)रिये अपचायितविये (,)
J— — — आ(चरिये) अ तेवासि(ना)—सितविये (,) आचरिय—आचरियश
Rm—(12) (अं)ते— — — — — पकिति । — —(वि)ये (,) अपचाय— — से
(अच)(13)रिय— —
E— अंतेवासीनि या(रि)सा पोराना पकिति (।) इयं सुसुतविये
अपचायना य वा सव मे आचरि(23)यस (,) यथाचारिन आचरियस

Br— ञातिकेसु(च) व(?) यथारहं पवतितविये, (12) एसा पोराणा पकिती (,)
S— — सु(18) — — — ए(19)सा पोरा(णा)(पकि)ती (,)
J— ञातिका ते — — (14) तितविये, — एसा(पो)राणा (पकि)ती (,)
Rm— ना(ति)कानि यथार(ह) (ना)ति(केसु) (प)वतितविये (अते) (14) यारिसा पोरा(ना)
(प)क(ति) (,)
E— नातिकानि यथारह नातिकेसु पवतितविये, हेसा पि

Br— (दिघा)वुसे च एम्(।) हेव एथ कटविये(13)। चपडेन लि(खितं) लिपिकरेण (।)

S— दि(घा)वु(म) च हेमेव (अंते)वासिने च(20) आचरिये—(य)थारह पवतित(व)
(21)—एस तथा कटिविये। चप(डेन)(22)—(रे)ण।

J— दी(घा) — —च-श (हेमेवा) (3) वति—ये हेवं मे देवाण पिये—(2)
कटविये (।)—(प)डेन (लिखितं)—करेण (।)

Rm— (यथार)ह यथा (इयं) — — मिया — — —(15)थ (आनप'य।न च
(अ'तेवासि) — —नप— —

E— (24) अ'तेवासीसु यथरह पवतितविये यारिश पोराणा पकिति (।) यथारह यथा इय (25)
आरोके सिया (,) हेवं तुफे आनापथ निवेसयाथ च अ'ते वा(सी)नि (।) हेवं दे(26)वानं
पिये आनपयति (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

[Of Rupnath text, as representative of the three Northern versions]

देवाना प्रिय· (देवप्रियः) एवं आह—सातिरेकाणि अर्द्धतृतीयानि (सार्द्धद्वयानि इत्यर्थ) वर्षाणि यत् अस्मि (अहं) श्रावक·, न तु बाढं प्रक्रान्त । सातिरेकं तु सवत्सरं यत् अस्मि अहं सङ्घं उपेत बाढं तु (च) (मया) प्रक्रान्तम्। एतस्मै कालाय (एतेन कालेन) जम्बुद्वीपे अमिश्राः देवा· आसन् ते इदानीं मिश्रा· कृता । प्रक्रमस्य (प्रक्रमे) हि एतत् फलम्। न च एतत महता (महत्तया वा) प्राप्तव्यं, क्षुद्रकेण हि क्वापि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुल· अपि स्वर्ग· आरोढुं (आराधयितुं वा)। एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतम्—"क्षुद्रकाः च उदारा· च प्रक्रमन्ताम्" इति। अन्ता· अपि च जानन्तु, अय प्रक्रम· एव—कि इति ? चिरस्थितिकः स्यात्। अयं हि अर्थ· बाढ वर्द्धिष्यते विपुलः च वर्द्धिष्यते अवरधिया द्वयर्द्धं (सार्द्धकमित्यर्थ· वर्द्धिष्यते। अयं च अर्थः पर्व्वतेषु लेखयत वारतः। इह च अस्ति शिलास्तमः (चेत्), शिलास्तम्भे लेखयित । तत एतेन च व्यञ्जनेन यावान् (यावतक) युष्माकं आहारः, सर्व्वत्र विवासयितव्यः इतिः। व्युष्टेन (व्युषितेन, वुष्कितेन वा) श्रावणं कृतं, २५६ शतानि विवासाः इति (अथवा, विवासात)।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus says (the King), the Beloved of the Gods. For more than two and a half years that I have become a lay disciple; but I have not indeed made any exertion greatly. Again for about more than a year that I have entered the order and have undertaken enterprises greatly. Upto this time the gods in Jambudvīpa (India) had remained un-mixed or un-associated (with men), they now have become associated (with men). For, this is the result of exertion

or enterprise. Nor is this to be attained only by a great man, but even by a small or lowly man too in some places can be won great or immense bliss of heaven, if he exerts himself. For this object this announcement or proclamation has been published —"May both small people and the great or noble ones exert themselves". My border people also should know this. And this exertion—how is it ? —may surely be long-enduring. For, this object will increase—nay it will increase as immense, and in the least calculation will increase one-and-a-half degree. This matter again you should on (all) opportunities cause to be written on (hill)-rocks. And here (in my dominions) wherever there is a stone-pillar, there should be caused to be written on (that) stone-pillar. This matter is to be sent out in accordance with this suggestion to every place wherever your jurisdiction extends. This proclamation has been proclaimed by me while living on tour out of home. Such departures from home (have I undertaken) for 256 (nights).

WORD NOTES

(1) अढतियानि—Skt. अर्द्धतृतीयानि. Cf. अठातियानि Br. Compare commentary to Pānini's rule I. 1. 23. The literal meaning here is 'containing a half for its third' i.e. two and a half. (So also अर्द्धचतुर्थ=3½). We have in Hindi and Bengali आढाइ. Cf. the use of the word in Kautilya V. 3—"कुशीलवा· तु अर्धतृतीयशता:". Cf. the words अड्ढतिययोजनशतां and अड्ढतियमात्ताणि वाणिजकशतानि used in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. II. 312 and Vol. III 75 respectively).

(2) सात्रके—Skt. श्रावकः. Pali सावक means 'a hearer', a disciple or pupil, especially a believing Buddhist. Southern versions have उपासके, a lay disciple.

(3) छवछरे—Skt. संवत्सर. Cf. सवछले Sa and संवछरं Br.

(4) पकते—Skt. प्रकान्तः. Cf. पकंते S. Pali पक्कमति means to step forward, enter into enterprises. Cf. Panini's rule "प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्" I. 3. 42.—Bhattoji comments thus—'प्रारम्भ्येऽनयोस्तुल्यार्थता'. प्रक्रमते—begins to work. Ordinarily the root प्र+क्रम् is परस्मैपदीय 'क्रमु पादविक्षेपे'—प्रक्रामति गच्छतीत्यर्थः। In Aśokan Dialects पलकम is also equivalent by स्वरभक्ति process to Skt. प्रक्रमः, not पराक्रमः.

(5) अमिमा—Skt अमिश्राः and मिमा=मिश्रा . Aśoka means to say that by his religious enterprises he has brought down the gods to mix with men i e. he has succeeded in making men godly in character by his inculcation of *Dhamma*.

(6) महतता—Skt. महात्मना वा महता.

(7) पापोतवे—Skt. प्राप्तुं, connected with the word सक्ये which follows and taken with आरोढवे.

(8) कपि—Skt क अपि, in certain cases.

(8) पक्रममानेना—Skt. प्रक्रममाणेन. Southern versions have पलकममीनेना. Vide Note (4) above.

(10) सक्ये—Skt. शक्य·. Cf. चक्ये Sa, चक्ये B, सक्ये Br.

(11) उडाला—Skt. उदारा·, noble men, high persons.

(12) अता—Skt. अन्ताः or अन्त्या , neighbouring or border people.

(13) दियढिये—Skt. द्व्यर्द्धम्. Pali दियड्ढ=one-and-a-half, increased by half, plus one-half. (देढा in Hindi and Bengali). Therefore सार्द्धकम्.

(14) अपलधियेना—Skt. अवरधिया. Other versions have अवलधियेना. In its least calculation or consideration. अवराधिकेन does not seem to be the exact rendering.

(15) वालत—Skt. वारतः, as occasions or opportunities (वार's) arise.

(16) आरोढवे—Skt. आरोढु॑. The Vedic infinitive affix तवे is used here. If the reading is आरोधेवे or आरोधवे which is corrected by some scholars as आराधे(त)वे, then its equivalent may be आराधयितु॑, in accordance with the text of the other versions viz. आलाधेतवे.

(17) वयजनेना—Skt. व्यञ्जनेन, in accordance with this text or suggestion.

(18) अहाले—Skt. आहारः, jurisdiction (for collection of revenue or taxes) from the root आ+हृ in णिच् which means to cause to procure, collect, bring. Cf. the same word in Sarnath Pillar Edict. Kauṭilya has समाहर्ता (from सं+आ+हृ) as the Collector-General of revenue.

(19) विवसेतविये—Skt. विवासयितव्यः, 'Should be made to dwell abroad'. वि+वस् (causative) to make to dwell out of home for promulgation of the *dhamma*, to make to spend, or pass time. Hence विवास means 'touring out of home', change of abode.

(20) व्युथेन—Skt. व्युष्टेन or व्युषितेन cf. व्युथेन E, विवुथेन Sa This is again from वि+वस्, by one who has passed time (e. g nights, ॰लाति लातिः of Sa), or by one changing his abode, or by one being absent from home. As to the form विवुथेन, it may be remarked here that with regard to the Pāninian भ्वादि root 'उछी (216) विवासे'. Bhattoji says 'विवास· समाप्ति । प्रायेणायं विपूर्व' and gives the form व्युच्छति, so the word विवुथेन may be translated into व्युच्छितेन Pānini also has in चुरादि class 'उछी (1296) विवासे' giving the form उच्छति. The Sarnath Pillar Edict has the words विवासयाथ and विवासापयाथा, probably in the sense of causing to go out of proper abode i. e. to be expelled for संघभेद. Kautilya (II. 6 7) has made use of the word व्युष्ट with reference to regnal year etc. and defines it (II. 6) thus—"राजवर्ष मास पक्षो दिवसश्च व्युष्टम्".

(21) सुइफु—Representing the numbers 200+50+6=256 In Sa we have the clear words दुवे सपंना-लाति-सता i. e. 200 nights exceeded by सपंना (56, षट्पञ्चाशत्, the Bengali छाप्पान्न). Upto the time of writing this Edict Aśoka, since his joining the Order, passed (probably on different tours) 256 nights abroad in instructing his people on his idea of the Buddhist *dhamma*. In the *Mahāvastu* III. p. 387. we have the compound word रात्रिविवासातो ('after the night is over' i e. at dawn) in verse—"ततो रात्रिविवासातो ग्रामं पिण्डाय ओतरे। आह्वयं नाभिनन्देय अभिहारं च ग्रामतो" ॥

SANSKRIT RENDERING

[Of Erragudi text, as representative of four (rather five) Southern versions]

PART I

देवप्रिय एवं आह —सातिरेकानि (अर्द्धतृतीयानि वर्षाणि) यत् अहं उपासक· (अस्मि इति शेषः)। न तु खलु एकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तः अभुवम्। सातिरेकं तु खलु संवत्सरं यत् मया संघ· उपेतः, वाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तम्। अनेन च कालेन अमिश्रा मनुष्या· देवैः, ते इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः (देवैरिति शेषः)। प्रक्रमस्य हि एतत् फलम्। न महात्मना एव शक्य·—क्षुद्रकेण अपि पक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुल स्वर्ग आराधयितुम्। एतस्मै एव अर्थाय इदं श्रावणं श्रावितं यथा—क्षुद्रक-महाधनाः

इदं (इह) पक्रमेरन्। अन्ता॰ च मे जानन्तु—चिरस्थितिकः च अयं प्रक्रम भवतु, विपुलः अपि च वर्द्धिष्यते, अवरविया द्व्यर्द्धं (वर्द्धिष्यते इत्यर्थं)। इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युष्टेन (व्युषितेन, व्युच्छ्रितेन वा) २००+५०+६ = २५६ ।

PART II

एवं देवप्रिय आह —'यथा देवप्रिय॰ आह तथा कर्त्तव्यम्'। रज्जुका॰ आज्ञापयिष्यन्ति राष्ट्रिकान् च—''मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यं एवमेव गुरुषु शुश्रूषितव्यं, प्राणेषु दयितव्यं, सत्यं वक्तव्यम्, (सुष्ठु इमे ?) सूक्ष्मधर्म्मगुणा॰ प्रवर्त्तयितव्या । एवं यूयं आज्ञापयत देवप्रियस्य वचनेन। एवं एव आज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान् कारणकान् (कारणिकान्) युग्यचर्य्यान् ब्राह्मणान् च—यूयं एवं निवेशयत अन्तेवासिन—यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृति । इदं शुश्रूषितव्यं—अपचायना (अपचिति॰ इत्यर्थं) या वा सर्व्वा मे आचार्य्यस्य, यथाचारिण॰ आचार्य्यस्य। ज्ञातिकाः यथार्हं ज्ञातिकेषु प्रवर्त्तयितव्या॰। एते पि अन्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्त्तयितव्या —यदृशी पुराणी प्रकृति । यथार्हं यथा अयं आरोकः स्यात्। एवं यूयं आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च अन्तेवासिन । एवं देवप्रिय आज्ञापयति ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

PART I

(The King), the Beloved of the Gods, thus says.—For more than (two and a half years) that I (became) an *upāsaka* (a lay disciple). But I have not indeed made any exertion for one year. Again, for more than one year that I entered the *Sangha* (the Order or the Congregation) I have exerted myself greatly (since then). During this period men remained un-mixed (un-associated) with the Gods. Now they (the men) become associated (with the Gods) For, this is the fruit of exertion (effort for good works). The (bliss of heaven) is not attainable by the great man alone, but it is capable of being attained even by a small man if he be exerting himself. For this reason has this sermon (preaching declaration or announcement) has been proclaimed —"May the small or the indigent and the rich exert themselves in this matter". Our neighbours (or border-people) also should know this—"may also this exertion be everlasting (or long-enduring), and (this) will grow greatly and it will, on the least reckoning or calculation, grow one-and-a-half as much". This proclamation was proclaimed by me during my 256th tour out of home (change of abode).

PART II

Thus says (the King), the Beloved of the Gods :—"You should do just as (the King), the Beloved of the Gods, directs", The Rajjukas are to be commanded. They will now command the country-people as well as the *Rāshtrikas* (the rulers or Governors of the country-people) (thus —) Mother and father are to be listened to (or obeyed), similarly the superiors or preceptors are to be obeyed, living beings are to be kindly treated, truth is to be spoken, these virtues of the Law of piety are to be circulated (diffused or introduced). You should thus command in the words of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods. Thus should you command the judges (or the teachers) who ride elephants (taken as an adjective to *Kāranikas*) and the Brāhmanas who drive in carriages (drawn by horses etc) (taken as an adjective to *Brāhmanas*). You should likewise impress on the dwellers on the borders (or pupils dwelling in the house of their teachers or preceptors).—"This is the pristine or ancient practice". This is to be hearkened to, all that worship or respect (is to be paid) to my preceptor—my preceptor who rightly behaves or conducts himself. Kinsmen are to be directed to make the treatment or courtesy towards kinsmen as they deserve. These (people) are to be asked to show that treatment towards the dwellers on the borders (or the students who dwell close by their teachers)—just on the line of the ancient practice. May this announcement be fitting or significant! Thus should you command and direct the dwellers on the borders (or students dwelling near their teachers). Thus commands (the King), the Beloved of the Gods.

WORD NOTES

(1) मिसिभूता—Skt. मिश्रीभूता Cf. मिसकटा R.

(2) रठिकानि—Skt. राष्ट्रिकान्. The governors or the administrators of the राष्ट्र=जनपद, the country-side.

(3) सुसुम धंमगुणा—The corresponding phrases in Br and S are से इमे धंमगुणा=Skt. तत् इमे धर्म्मगुणा . Hence I think सुसुमे=Skt. सुष्ठु इमे, and not शुष्म-धर्म्मगुणाः as some scholars think, as the word शुष्म (strength or light) is not found used in Skt. as an adjective. If the middle letter is taken as खु, the word becomes Pali सुखुम=Skt. सूक्ष्म, subtle, fine or exquisite.

(4) चपडेन—चपड or चपल is the name of the scribe in Er., S and J.

(5) हथियारोहानि—Skt. हस्त्यारोहान्. Generally हस्त्यारोह means a हस्तिपक i.e. an elephant-driver, but it seems it is in this context an adjective to the following word कारनकानि.

(6) कारनकानि—Skt. कारणिकान् or कारणकान्. Those who investigate or ascertain a cause, hence judges (as used in the पञ्चतन्त्र). It is used in the महाभारत in the sense of 'teachers' or examiners.

(7) यूग्यचरियानि—Skt. युग्यचर्य्यान्. Those who drive on chariot-horses or in vehicles drawn by horses. This word may be taken as an adjective to the next word वंभनानि. The word युग्य in masculine gender means any yoked or draught animal. Cf. "युगादीना तु वोढारो युग्य-प्रासङ्ग्यशाकटा." इत्यमर. । "तद्वहति रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम्" इति यत्, Panini IV. 4. 36. The neuter form युग्यं means a vehicle, carriage or car.

(8) निवेसयाथ—Skt. निवेशयत. Turn or direct towards, or impress (a subject on the mind of people), make attend to.

(9) अन्तेवासीनि—Skt. अन्तेवासिन.. May have either of the two meanings, viz. (1) those dwelling near the boundaries or dwelling close by, and (2) pupils dwelling near, or in the house of teachers.

(10) पोराणा पकिती—Skt. प्रकृतिः. The old usage or practice i.e. the old pattern or standard.

(11) अपचायना—Skt. अपचायना (From अप+चाय्, to honour, respect, worship). In Skt. अपचितिः also may mean 'reverence'.

(12) आरोके—Skt. आरोक॰. This new word may be traced to Pali आरोचेति (caus. of आ+रुच्), to communicate, tell, explain. The double causative form आरोचापेति means to cause to be told or announced, to make, known, publish. Hence आरोकः means 'an announcement', i.e. a proclamation.

MINOR PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

(SARNATH, KOSAMBI AND SANCHI VERSIONS)

I TEXT

Sar— (1) देवा(न पिये पियदसि लाजा)
Kos— (1) देवानं पिये — — आनपयति (1)
San— (1) — — — —

Sar— (2) ए ल — — — — — —
Kos— कोसंबियं महा(मा)त (2) — — — —
San— — — — — — (या) भेत(वे) (1)

Sar— (3) पाट(लिपुते) — — — — — (न)
Kos— (2) — (स)म(गे) कटे (1)
San— (2) (सं)घे (स)मगे कटे (1) (3) (भि)खूनं च भि(खुनी)नं चा ति

Sar— (चकि)ये केन पि संघे भेतवे (1) — —
Kos— —म — संघसि न लहिये (1) — —
San— — — (2) — — —

Sar— ए चुं खो (4) (भिखू वा भिखुनि वा) संघं भाखति (भखति, भिखति, भोखति, others)
Kos— —— — (3) —(सघं) (भाखति) भिखु वा भिखुनि वा
San— (पु)तप(4) (पो)तिके चं(द)म(सू)रि(यिके) (1) ये सघं(5) भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा

Sar— (से) ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया आनावाससि (5) आवासयिये (1)
Kos— (से)पि ओदातानि दुसानि (सं)नंधापयितु अ(नावा)ससि (7) (आवा)सयिये (1)
San— ओदाता(6)नि दु(सानि सनं(धाप)यितु अना(वा)(3)ससि वा(सा)पेतविये (1)

Sar— हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विंनपयितविये
San— इछा हि मे किं (8) ति सघे समगे चिलथितीके सिया ति (1)

Sar—(6) हेवं देवान पिये आहा (—) हेदिमा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवंति संसलनसि निखिता (।) (7) इकं च लिपिं हेदिससेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (।) ते पि च उपासका अनुपोसथं यावु (8) एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे (।) अनुपोसथं धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये (9) याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (।) आवतके च तुफाक आहाले (10) सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (।) हेमेव सवेसु कोट-विषवेसु एतेन (11) वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा।

SANSKRIT RENDERING

(Sarnath Version)

देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा आज्ञापयति। ये पाटलिपुत्रे (अन्यत्र, कौशाम्ब्यां) महामात्राः (ते)—(मया) संघः समग्रः कृतः। भिक्षूणां भिक्षुणीनां (भिक्षुकीणां) च (न) केनापि शक्यं संघं भेत्तुम्। यः च खलु भिक्षुः वा भिक्षुणी (भिक्षुकी) वा संघं भट्‌स्यति (भेत्स्यति इत्यर्थः), सः अवदातानि दूष्याणि सन्निधाप्य (संनाह्य इत्यर्थः) अन्यावासे आवास्यः (आवासयितव्यः)। एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षुसंघे च भिक्षुणी (भिक्षुकी)-संघे च विज्ञापयितव्यम्। एवं देवानां प्रियः आह—ईदृशी च एका लिपिः युष्माकं अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे निक्षिप्ता। एका च लिपिं ईदृशी एव उपासकानां अन्तिके निक्षिपत। ते अपि च उपासका अनूपवसथं यायुः एतत् एव शासनं विश्वासयितुम्। अनूपवसथं च ध्रुवाय (ध्रुवमित्यर्थः) एकैकः महामात्रः उपवसथाय (उपोषिताय) याति एतत् एव शासनं विश्वासयितुं आज्ञातुं च। यावत्कः युष्माकं आहारः (अधिकारः इत्यर्थः)—सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयं एतेन व्यञ्जनेन। एवं एव सर्वेषु कोट्ट (कोट)—विषयेषु एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत [Additional Sanchi Text—(1) (यावत्) पुत्रप्रपौत्रकाः चन्द्रमसूर्यौ (भवन्तु) [अथवा, पुत्रप्रपौत्रकं चन्द्रमसूर्यकं भवतु] [2] इच्छा हि मे —किमिति? संघः समग्रः चिरस्थितिकः स्यात् इति।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thus commands King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods:—The command is upon the Mahāmatras at Pataliputra and other parts of the country (at Kosambi, in the second such Edict) that I have kept the *Sangha* (the congregation or the community) intact. The *Sangha* may not be split into divisions by any person, be he a monk or be she a nun. Whoever, whether he be a monk or she be a nun, shall cause division or bring schism in the *Saṅgha* he or she shall be caused to wear white garments and to live in another (external residence i.e. instead of a monastery). Thus this injunction or ordinance should be made known to the Congregation of the monks and in the Congregation of the nuns. (The King), the Beloved of the Gods says thus:—Such an order should be

placed or posted in the high-way, within your reach. A similar copy of this ordinance you should keep within the reach of the *upāsakas* (lay-disciples). On the fast-days these *upāsakas* also should get (themselves) acquainted with the Edict. On every fast-day every Mahāmātra should surely go in for attending the fast-day service to be acquainted with this ordinance and to understand the same fully. As far as your jurisdiction prevails, you should cause (the schismatic people) to change their abode (i.e. cause them to be expelled). Similarly you should enforce the expulsion (of the schismatic people) in all forts (or fortified towns) and the Districts, in accordance with the text (of this ordinance),

(Additional Sañchi text—As long as my sons and great-grand-sons live and the sun and the moon endure..... This is my desire—what is that? That the *Sangha* (the Order) may last long by remaining intact or in its entirety.)

WORD NOTES

(1) भेतवे—Skt. भेत्तुम्. An advice in the Pātimokkha runs thus in Pali—"यो पन भिक्खु समग्गस्स सङ्घस्स भेदाय परिक्कमति—".

(2) भखति (भाखति)—Skt. भङ्ख्यति from root भञ्ज्, to bring a division or a split.

(3) समगे—Skt. समग्र.. Complete or entire. संघभेद—schism or separation or cessation from the Holy order or Congregation is a sin according to the Buddhists. Keeping it in its entirety or unified was Aśoka's aim.

(4) संनंधापयिया—संनिधाप्य, causing to place or lay on, i.e causing to wear. Not from the root नह् as some may think (i e. not संनाह्य in its formation). Cf. the form in the Kos. and San. texts संनंधापयितु which stands for a gerund.

(5) अनावाससि—Skt. अन्यावासे, not अनावासे (non-residence), in another (external) residence i.e, not in the usual monastery where live the Buddhist monks and nuns.

(6) वासापेतविये—Skt. वासयितव्यः, made to live in. If the reading be विसपेतविये, it means विसर्पयितव्य., made to go or proceed to i.e. to be removed to.

(7) इका and इकिके—Skt. एका and एकैकः.

(8) संसलनसि—Skt. संसरणे (not संम्मरणे or मंशरणे) Cf. Amara "घण्टापथः संसरणम्" i e. a public high-way Kautilya (in शासनाधिकार topic BK II 10) speaks of the सर्वत्रगशासन thus:—"सर्वत्रगो नाम भवेत् स मार्गे देशे च सर्वत्र च वेदितव्य "।

(9) निखिता—Skt. निक्षिप्ता from नि+क्षिप्, to deposit or install.

(10) अनुपोपथं and पोसथाय—See notes on them in P E.V

(11) आजानितवे—Pali आजानाति means to know or understand fully from Skt. आ+ .

(12) तुफाकं and तुफे—Skt. युष्माकं and यूयं. Cf. महावस्तु use of तुफेहि in II. Cf. also तुफाक, तुफे in Dhauli separate R.E. II and अफेसु, अफाकं, तुफे in Dhauli separate R.E. I.

(13) आहाले—Skt. आहारः आ+हृ in old Skt. means to deliver, to collect (e.g. taxes). Hence "sphere of executive influence, jurisdiction (i e. कर्म्माधिकारप्रसर.).

(14) कोट-विसवेसु—Skt. कोट (कोट्ट)-विषयेषु i.e. in forts (or fortified towns) and in the Districts. Cf. दुर्ग and राष्ट्र or जनपद, two of the seven constituent elements of a सप्ताङ्गराज्य or the State. कोट्टपाल is mentioned in later Inscriptions as a High officer in a fort. For दुर्ग see अर्थशास्त्र II. 3-4.

(15) विवासयाथ and बिवासापयाथा—The first word is from वि+वस्+णिच् and the second a double causative form. It means to cause to dwell apart or to change abode, hence to cause to banish or expel.

RUMMINDEĪ PILLAR INSCRIPTION

TEXT

(1) देवान पियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन

(2) अतन आगाच महीयिते (,) हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनीति (,)

(3) सिलाविगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथभे च उसपापिते (,)

(4) हिद भगवं जाते ति लुंमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे

(5) अठभागिये च (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवाना प्रियेण (देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन आत्मना आगत्य महीयित', इह बुद्धः जात शाक्यमुनि' इति। शिलावि(ष्कृत)गर्दभी च कारिता शिलास्तम्भ' च उच्छ्रापित'। इह भगवान् जात इति लु विनीग्राम' उद्बलिक कृत, आष्टभागिक च।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

By King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, while consecrated twenty years, having come in person, worship was offered (here), as "here was born the Śākya ascetic, the Buddha", and a female-ass was caused to be carved out of stone and a stone-pillar was caused to be raised (or erected), and the Lumbini village was made free from taxes (or cesses) and made liable to pay (only) one-eighth part (of the land-produce as land revenue), because "here was born the Lord".

WORD-NOTES

(1) अतन—Skt. आत्मना from Pali *atta*, one-self.

(2) आगाच—From आ+गच्छ्. Skt. आगत्य.

(3) सिलावि-गडभी—शिला+आवि(स्)+गडभी. To scholars it is indeed a puzzling word. Some scholars took the word as divided into सिला+विगड+भी (with the following चा added to it). In Aśokan Edicts we have innumerable use of the indeclinable चा for च. In my opinion the interpretation should be—the figure of "a she-ass as manifested or carved out of a stone" to serve the purpose of a capital on the pillar on which the inscription was engraved. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang referred to this pillar at Lumbini-forest adorned with a horse-capital set up by Aśoka. Most probably it had a figure of a she-ass and not a horse, forming the capital of the pillar. On such an interpretation the controversial word may be analysed thus—शिलाया वा शिलायाः आविष्कृता or आविष्कारिता गर्दभी. Skt. गर्दभी is Pali गद्रभी (=Aśokan Prakrit गडभी). Some may feel tempted to take सिलावि to mean शिलामयः, but the Pali affix आवि is generally attached to verbal forms, e.g. भयदस्सावी. Compare the uses of such words as मुक्तावि *Mahāvastu* I. 312, 325 and विजितावी *ibid*, I 49, 193. Hence शिला+आवि (affix) is not possible. Hence we want to take the आवि as the Pali indeclinable (=Skt. आविस्) to mean openly, manifestly.

(4) उसपापिते—Skt. उच्छ्रापित. (from उत्+श्रि+णिच्). Cf. Pali उस्सापित (raised, lifted, erected) from उस्सापेति=उच्छ्रापयति Skt. The form here is an example of double causative.

(5) उबलिके—Skt उद्बलिक, cf Amara "भागधेय करो बलि." and "करोपहारयो पुंसि बलि.". Hence बलि here is tax, royal revenue Therefore the compound word means released from any kind of tax i.e made tax-free.

(6) अठभागिये—Skt आष्टभागिक., liable only to pay one-eighth of the land-produce i.e. not at the normal rate of one-sixth (षड्भाग vide अर्थशास्त्र BK. II. 12), or one-fourth if that was prevalent in Aśoka's time. Being the birth place of the Buddha the Lumbini village was granted a special concession by Aśoka.

QUEEN'S (ALLAHABAD) PILLAR EDICT

TEXT

(1) देवानं पियपा वचनेना सवत महामता

(2) वतविया (—) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने (,)

(3) अंबावडिका वा आलामे व दानग(हे व, ए वापि) अं नं

(4) कीछि गनीयति(,) ताये देविये षे (।) नानि (हे)वं (गनतविये) [विनतिविये]

(5) दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवानां प्रियस्य (देवप्रियस्य) वचनेन सर्वत्र महामात्राः वक्तव्याः—यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः दानं—आम्रवाटिका वा आरामः वा दानगृहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित् गण्यते, तस्याः देव्याः तत्। तानि एवं गणितव्यानि (अथवा पाठान्तरे, विज्ञातव्यानि) द्वितीयायाः देव्याः इति तीवर-मातुः कारुवाक्याः।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

According to the words (or command) of (the King), the Beloved of the Gods, the Mahāmātras (High State-functionaries) are to be addressed:—"Whatever gift has been given here (in my empire?) by the Second Queen, whether it be a mango-orchard, or a garden (or a grove), or an alms-house, or any thing else that is counted (as her gift), that is hers" All these are thus to be reckoned (or known) as being given by Kāruvākī, the Second Queen, mother of Tīvara.

WORD NOTES

(1) अंबावडिका—Cf. the word अबावडिक्या in P.E. VII.

(2) गनतविये—(=Skt. गणितव्य). Some scholars read विनतविये (विज्ञातव्य). If, however, the conjectural reading 'विनति' of Hultzsch is accepted, the word will be Sanskritised as विज्ञप्ति i.e. her announcement or her request.

(3) तीवलमातु—The name of Prince Tīvara is mentioned in some Buddhist records.

(4) कालुवाकिये—कारुवाकी, the Second Queen's name, is regarded by some scholars as her personal name, and by others as her *gotra* (family) name (i.e. belonging to the Vedic family of the Kārus).

NIGLIVA (NIGALĪ SAGAR) PILLAR INSCRIPTION

(1) देवानं पियेन पियदसिना लाजिन चोदसवसा(भिसितेन)

(2) बुधस कोनाकमनस थुवे दुतियं वढिते (।)

(3) (वीसतिव)साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते

(4) (सिलाथभ) (च) (उस)पापिते (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

देवाना प्रियेण (देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन बुद्धस्य कनकमुनेः स्तूपः द्वितीयं वर्द्धितः (,) विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन च आत्मना आगत्य महीयितं, शिलास्तम्भः च उच्छ्रापितः ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

By King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, having been consecrated fourteen years, was enlarged for the second time the relic-tope of the (previous) Buddha Kanakamuni and (by him) having been consecrated twenty-years, having come in person, worship was offered and a stone-pillar was caused to be raised or erected.

WORD-NOTES

(1) थुवे—Skt. स्तूपः, a relic-mound or a relic-tope which probably contained some sacred relic of Kanakamuni Buddha.

(2) कोनाकमनस—Konaka(ga)mana (=Skt. कनकमुनि) was one of the previous Buddhas (generally recorded as seven in number). The cult of 'previous Buddhas' was prevalent in the time of Aśoka. For the names of these past Buddhas, e g. Konokamuni, Krakucchanda, Kaśyapa, Sikhi and others, *vide* the *Saptajinastava.*

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

TEXT

A. (1) लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसा(भिसितेना)
(2) (इयं) (निगो)हकुभा दि(ना आजीवि) केहि (।)

B. (1) लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा—
(2) डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
(3) कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
(4) दिना (आजीवि) केहि (।)

C. (1) लाजा पियदसी एकुनवी—
(2) सतिवस(भि)सिते। ज(लघो)—
(3) (सागम)थात (मे) इयं (कुभा)
(4) सुपि(ये) ख(लतिकपवतसि) दि
(5) ना (।)

SANSKRIT RENDERING

A. राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं न्यग्रोध-गुहा दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः ।

B. राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिकपर्वते दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः ।

C. राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः । जलघोषागमार्थाय मया इयं गुहा सुप्रिये खलतिकपर्वते दत्ता ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

A. By King Priyadarśī, when he had been consecrated twelve years, was given (or granted) this Banyan-cave to the Ajīvikas.

B By King Priyadarśī, when he had been consecrated twelve years, was given this cave in the Khalatika hill.

C. King Priyadarśī was (now) consecrated nineteen years. "By me was given this cave in the very pleasant or the most favourite Khalatika hill."

WORD-NOTES

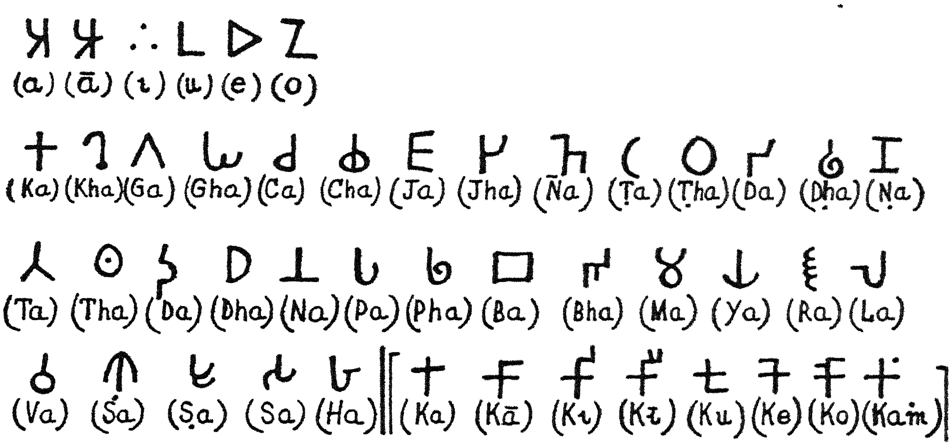
(1) कुभा—Skt. गुहा. There is use of the word गुफा in later Inscriptions.

(2) दिना—Pali दिन्ना (Past-paticiple of दा). Skt. दत्ता.

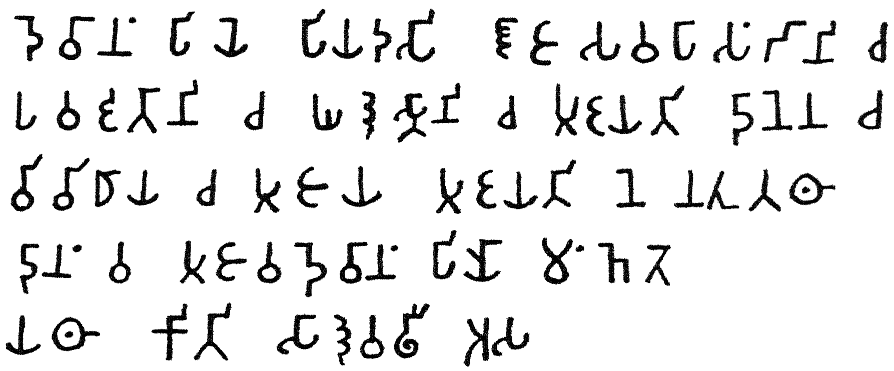
(3) आजीविकेहि—Cf note on the word in P.E. VII.

(4) खलतिकपवतसि—It is the Barabar hill in Gayā District of Bihar. The names *Pravaragiri* and *Gorathagiri* have connection with this hill.

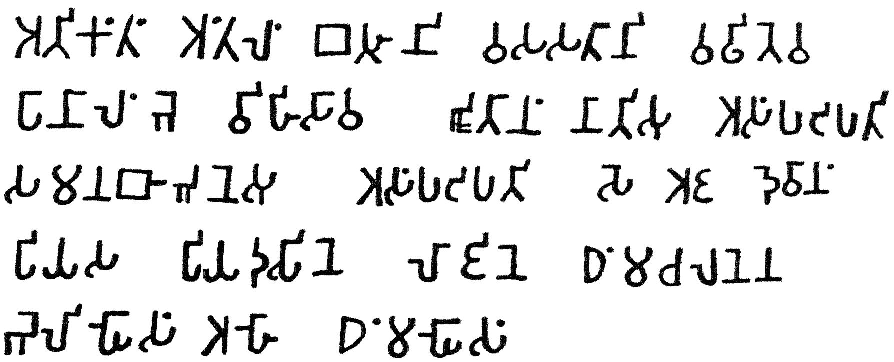
INDEX OF SOME IMPORTANT AŚOKAN WORDS



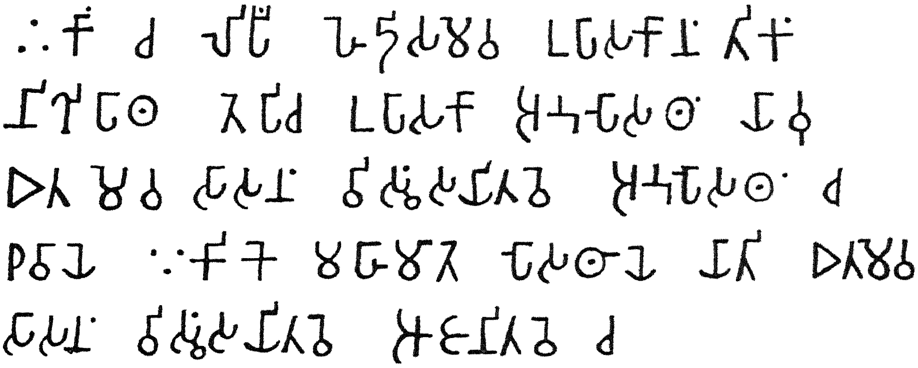
Aśokan Brāhmī Alphabet



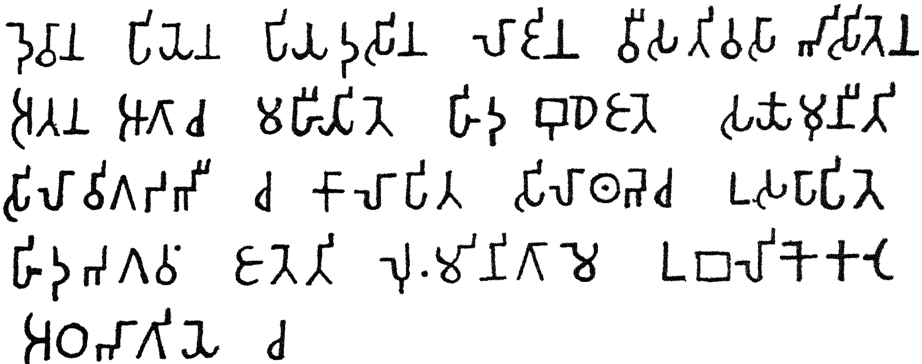
Girnar Rock Edict XII, p 67



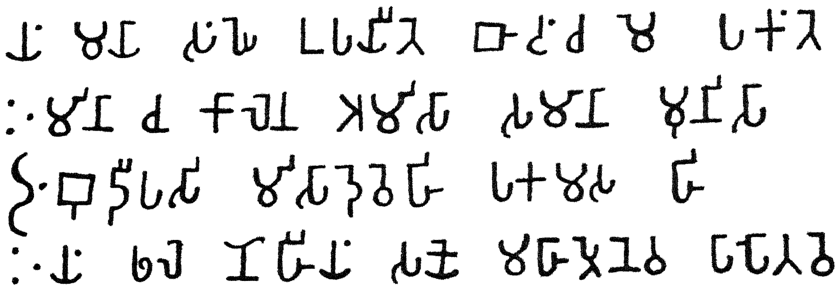
Dhauli Rock Edict IV, pp 14-15



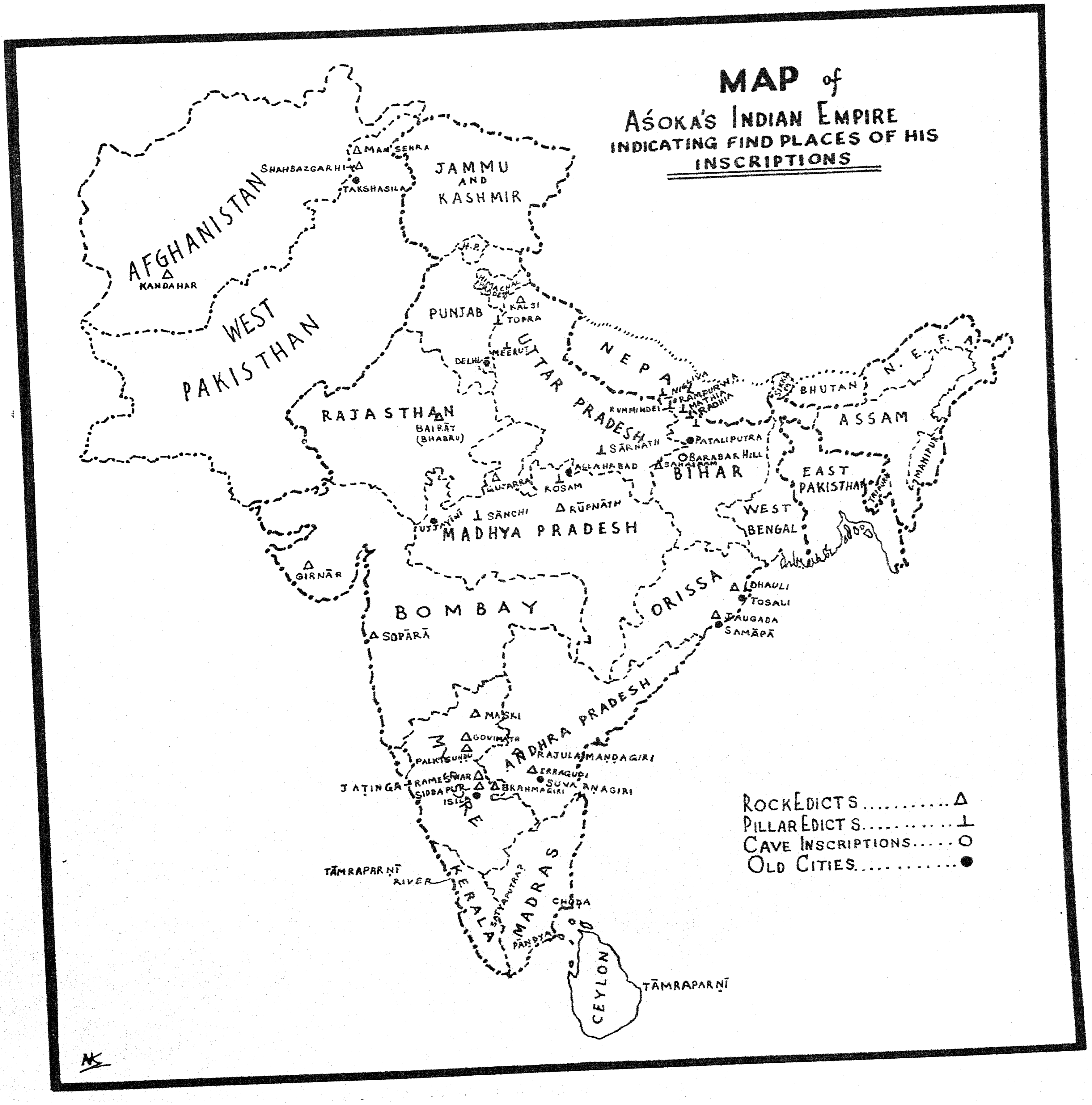
Sarnath Minor Pillar Edict p 147



Rummindei Pillar Inscription, p 149



Brahmagiri Minor Rock Edict I, pp. 134-135


MAP of
AŚOKA'S INDIAN EMPIRE
INDICATING FIND PLACES OF HIS INSCRIPTIONS
AFGHANISTAN
KANDAHAR
SHAHBAZGARHI
MANSEHRA
TAKSHASILA
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
WEST PAKISTHAN
PUNJAB
KALSI
TOPRA
MEERUT
DELHI
UTTAR PRADESH
NEPAL
RUMMINDEI
RAMPURWA
MATHIA
RADHIA
BHUTAN
N. E. F. A.
ASSAM
RAJASTHAN
BAIRAT (BHABRU)
SARNATH
PATALIPUTRA
BARABAR HILL
ALLAHABAD
BIHAR
EAST PAKISTHAN
KOSAM
RUPNATH
SANCHI
UJJAYINI
MADHYA PRADESH
WEST BENGAL
GIRNAR
ORISSA
DHAULI
TOSALI
JAUGADA
SAMAPA
BOMBAY
SOPARA
ANDHRA PRADESH
MASKI
GOVIMATH
PALKIGUNDU
RAJULAMANDAGIRI
ERRAGUDI
SUVARNAGIRI
JATINGA RAMESWAR
SIDDAPUR
ISILA
BRAHMAGIRI
MYSORE
MADRAS
KERALA
TAMRAPARNI RIVER
SATYAPUTRA?
CHODA
PANDYA
CEYLON
TAMRAPARNI
ROCK EDICTS
PILLAR EDICTS
CAVE INSCRIPTIONS
OLD CITIES